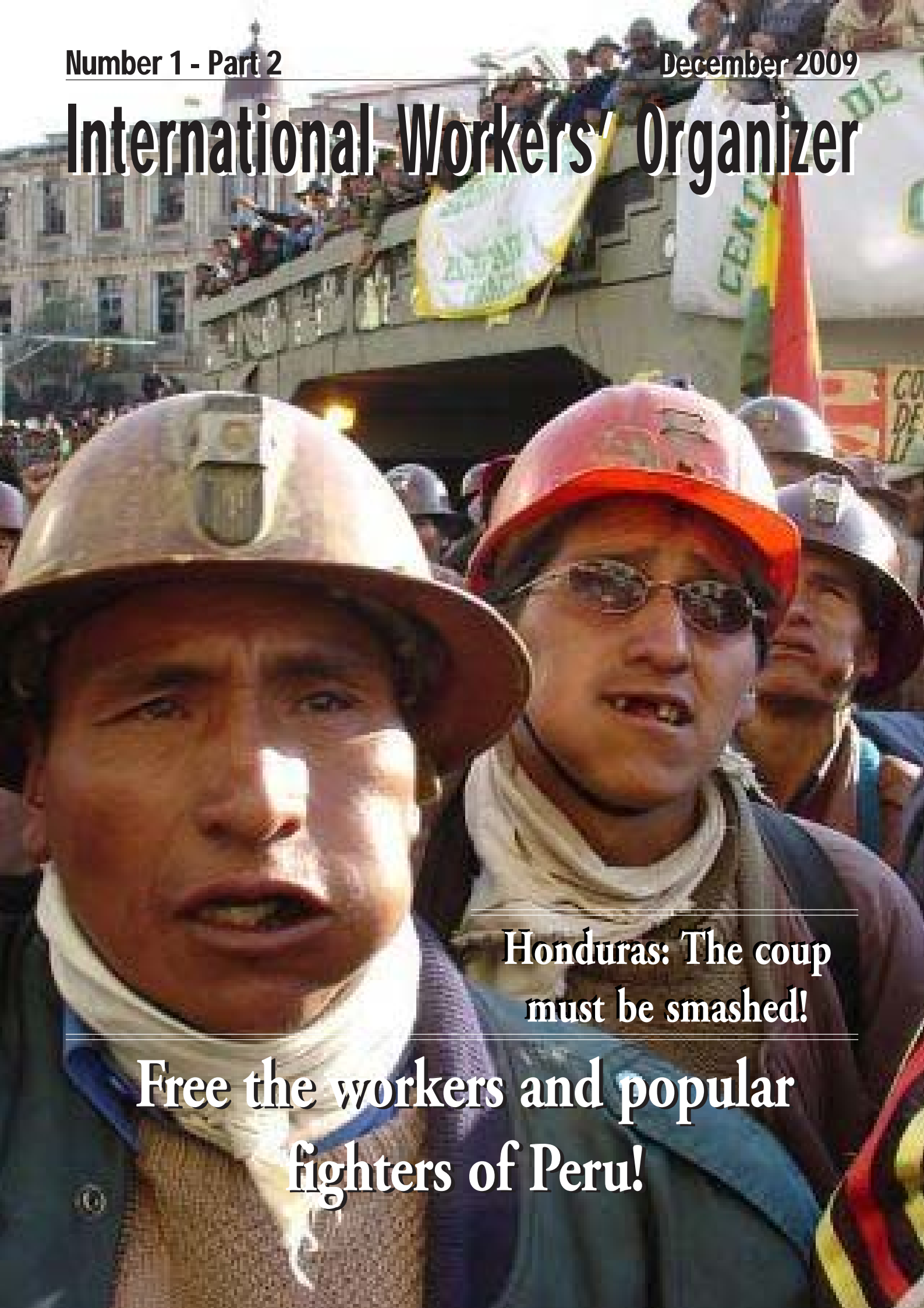


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International Workers' Organizer



Honduras: The coup
must be smashed!

Free the workers and popular
fighters of Peru!

INTERNATIONAL LENINIST TROTSKYIST FRACTION

INTEGRATED BY:

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Presentation

We present in this edition the remaining resolutions of the founding Congress of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction [ILTF] held in July 2009 in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

There are always limits on comparisons but we drew as a fundamental characterisation of the period as being 'transitory' as outlined by Trotsky in 1935 in *Whither France?*, only 4 years before the second world imperialist war.

"In the processes of history we find stable situations which are altogether non-revolutionary. We find likewise situations which are obviously revolutionary. And again, there are counter-revolutionary situations (we had better not forget them!). But the most striking features of our epoch of capitalism in decay are intermediate and transitional: situations between the non-revolutionary and the pre-revolutionary, between the pre-revolutionary and the revolutionary or the counter-revolutionary. It is precisely these transitional stages which have a decisive importance from the point of view of political strategy."

Thus we have coups, tendencies to bonapartism, tendencies to fascism but also indeed the first signs that the working class is taking to the path of revolution, as we have seen in the strikes in France, the uprisings in Gaudaloupe and Martinique, in Madagascar, the mass resistance to the coup in Honduras (despite the pacifism of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and the Castrists), the strike wave in South Africa (against the wishes of the union bureaucracy and the SACP), the mass protests in Guinea, the start of mass resistance to the imperialist attacks in the USA (voting for strikes against the wishes of the bureaucracy), the occupation of the Kraft-Terrabusi factory in Argentina (against the wishes of the union bureaucracy).

A transitory situation is brief, in that unless there is founded a revolutionary International within this period, we could be faced with a period of counter-revolution and even a new imperialist world war. It is for this reason that the FLTl has been founded, making a call for a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald conference, to regroup the revolutionaries and to disperse the forces of counter-revolution.

The tendency of the rise of the right wing and at the same time of the radicalisation of the masses, undercuts the ground from under the reformists. In Germany we see the rise of the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Democrats, while at the same time the rise of left-posing anti-capitalist parties, as indeed in Portugal and France. In the 1930's it was mainly Stalinism that posed as the main counter-revolutionary force within the working class movement; today, in addition, we have the fake Trotskyists who in the vacuum left by the exposure of Stalinism in the

eyes of the masses, compete with each other to become the new darlings of imperialism.

Thus we see the PO take the stage in Greece and Argentina by giving up on the revolutionary path to Socialism, as indeed, the New Anti-Capitalist Party, and Lutte Ouvriere in France, which has not only abandoned the socialist revolution but goes to Guadeloupe and turns the revolutionary uprising away from a fight for a seizure of power, and into the bourgeois path of trade union negotiations; in Zimbabwe the IS tendency split into 2



factions, the one under Gwisai, who still aligned with the international tendency, co-chairs the land commission of the bourgeois process of redrafting the Constitution; the other faction has now split from the IS tendency and is in opposition to the attempts by imperialism to found a new Anti-capitalist party in Zimbabwe (based on the unions and students organizations). It is this left break from the IS that has now declared for the FLTI; in Britain we have the split of the SWP into many factions, in essence over the turn of the SWP to Respect (a bourgeois 'workers' party) that is part of the world process of the fake Trotskyists taking up the role of counter-revolution to bail out capitalism-imperialism from their crisis and to make the world working class pay; we also welcome the joining of the Denver group of revolutionaries into the ranks of the FLTI- the prospect of refounding, through class struggle, of the party of the young Cannon and Trotsky, in the USA has just taken a giant leap forward; the commitment of Hamas, at all costs, even of only weakly criticising the support of Fatah to withdraw any criminal charges against Israel in the imperialist UN, opens up the prospect for a proletarian party to take root in the Middle East.

At the same time, the delay, hour by hour, in establishing a revolutionary International is already showing the negative possibilities to the world working class (the militarization of the Kraft factory, now re-opened under police guard over production; the massacre of the Guinea protestors; the attempts to establish a militarised police force in South Africa- now that attempts to break unions of soldiers have been temporarily blocked by the working class; the establishment of 7 new US bases in Colombia; the setting up of Africom (US military command) in Ghana; the intensification of the US imperialist wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the prospects of counter-revolution in Bolivia, etc).

We would be failing in our duty if we did not warn the world working class of the bourgeois propaganda of a supposed rise of Chinese 'imperialism'. This is part of the psychological preparation of the world working class for an imperialist invasion of China to partition it between US and Japanese imperialism. What is being deliberately hidden from the eyes of the working class in the US and Japan, is that these imperialist powers are responsible for the brutal suppression of the Chinese worker, in partnership with Chinese Stalinism. Industrialization of China has brought forward the prospect of the Chinese socialist revolution once again. When a new Tiannamen square uprising is upon us and the prospect of the overthrow of the Chinese bureaucracy comes on the agenda, Japanese and US imperialism will join in the mad scramble to suppress the

revolution and to re-partition it on conditions more favourable to them. The mass unemployment, the failure of 30% of new business ventures since 2007, the many strikes, all point to the rising revolution. We welcome the revolutionary gesture of Japanese Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL) to open up a public debate between the positions of the FLTI and theirs with our respective publications. This can only advance the struggle for revolutionary theory and praxis.

The counter-revolutionary pacts, the open allegiance of the trade union leaders with the forces of capitalism, the awarding of the Nobel peace prize to Obama, and other measures, are only placing a lid on a volcano that is about to explode.

Long live the method and programme of the Fourth International!

Down with Stalinism and the fake Trotskyists!

For an International Conference of healthy revolutionary forces to set up once again a revolutionary International!

Emergency appeal

The hated Fujimorist regime of the FTA takes more workers as hostages

Free the workers and popular fighters of Peru!

On September 9th 2009, **Pedro Condor**, general secretary of the union of Casapalca mine was seized by the police when he was coming out of a meeting held in the ministry of labour building and put in jail. The prosecutors and the ministry of justice had never warned him that he was facing

with a police battalion, when the miners went on strike in defence of their rights and blocked the main highway –which unites Lima with the rest of the departments of the centre. The captain was killed, hypothetically, by a rock thrown from above, by the workers, but there is no proof. Comrades

Condori, Boza and Poma were in Lima in the discussions with the bosses and the ministry of labour when this happened. Their arrest is a real kidnapping and taking of hostages by the hated FTA Fujimorist regime!

Meanwhile, tens of militant workers and poor peasants from Amazonia are being kept in the jails of the government, with no medical care, subordinated to physical and psychological torture. **Alberto Pizango** and other leaders had to go into hiding to avoid being captured. The Distict



any charges. Then, **Claudio Boza and Eloy Martin Poma**, also leaders of the mine workers, were put in jail. Both **Condori** and **Boza** have been put in detention in the jail of Aucallama, with ordinary criminals, in Huacho, outside Lima –the capital city- where it is difficult to connect with their families. Without receiving any kind of medical attention, comrade **Condori's** health is worsening by the day – he is already weak because of sickness from working in the mine.

They are accused of the death of a captain that wanted to slaughter miners in October last year

Attorney's (DA) office has denounced 240 leaders of the struggle front and the communal presidents of the struggle of Andahuaylas, who have been at the head of the department strike in Andahuaylas in June/July this year. The D.A. also appealed for 35 years in prison for **Zenon Cuevas**, leader of the struggle's front in Moquegua, who was at the head of the fight last year.

In the meantime, the murderers who have been slaughtering us during the last 30 years are still free. The genocide dictator Morales Bermudez, who was part of the "Condor Plan" to catch the political refugees who were escaping from the

dictatorships in South America and who is also responsible for the death of three revolutionary Argentinean militants, which were given away to Videla's dictatorship, is now introduced as a "patriarch" of democracy, since he led the agreed transition between the military party, the Apra and the social-Christian right. Belaunde and Paniagua (Both members of Popular Action) who tortured, slaughtered and made people disappear in the '80s through the actions of the government, are resting in peace after being introduced as holy saints of democracy. Garcia, Villanueva, Mantilla and the members of Apra (Vilchez, Arana, etc.) with the businessmen Vega Llona and Favre, all of them organizers of the 1985-90 paramilitary squads and that have slaughtered, put in jail and tortured the fighters in this three years of the current government, are free! Toledo, that indigenist who killed everyone he could, reaching almost twenty kills "in defence of democracy", who gave amnesty to the military and paramilitary accused of murder is free. The higher ranks of the army...are free!

On Friday, October 16th, five members of the "Colina" paramilitary squad were warned that they were going to be captured when they gave their statement to the judge. They had the luxury to go inside the court and then leave "to buy some soda" and run away. This is the limit! Fujimori, the former dictator, has privileges: a golden jail and he walks outside the special detention centre where he is being kept. While the killers are free, they have privileges, and so on; the workers fighters and the poor peasants fighters are true hostages of the genocidal corrupt regime, who keeps the masses in starvation.

This attack on the working class and the exploited is just one of the offensives of imperialism. US imperialism, disguised as Obama, with the

SouthCom and the coupists, kill and kidnap fighters in Honduras, while thousands of anti-imperialist fighters in the Middle East are being kept prisoners in the CIA and the Zionist-fascist Israel state jails. US and the "democratic" European imperialist troops are making a real bloodbath in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Ecuador, Correa, the "Bolivarian", kills workers and poor peasant leaders in the Amazonia, in defence of the transnationals' interests. The prisoners in Peru, in reality, hostages of the transnationals and of its servant regime, are in jail because they fought in defence of the workers and against the imperialist interests.

They are the hostages of the regime and imperialism. The regime puts in jail the working class who dare to resist the imperialist attacks. These are the prisoners of imperialism and their junior partners, the national bourgeoisie.

The FLTI calls on workers not to trust in the boss's justice nor in the institutions of the authoritarian regime, which are at the service of the bosses and imperialism. That trust is infused by the CGTP leadership and the reformist left to prevent unity in action in the streets of the different sectors which have members in jail. Only the struggle of the masses can free our class brothers in jail. The workers of the Miner Federation have called a 48 hour national strike (October 19th and 20th) to demand the freeing of comrades **Condori, Boza and Poma**. The fight in the streets, the general strike –which must be taken by the



"Long Life the Strike!"



Peruvian workers movement-, the blocking of the highways, the pickets... This is the road to free our comrades!

From South Africa to San Francisco, from Buenos Aires to San Pablo, from USA to Europe, from the ones who fight Zionism and the imperialist troops which kill in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq, we call all the workers organizations of the world to stand up to fight in defence of our class brothers: **Free, Unconditionally Condori, Poma, Boza and all the ones that are in jail because they dared to resist capitalism imperialism! Free Unconditionally all the resistance fighters in the Middle East, the thousands of Palestinian fighters which are in the jails of the Zionist murderer state and the Guantanamo prisoners of Bush and Obama!**

We call all the workers organizations, unions, left parties and organizations who fight for human rights to make a wide unity in action. Let's send protest letters, organize demonstrations in the embassies and consulates of Peru, and organize solidarity strikes for our class brothers.

A year ago a Peruvian miner delegation went to the Latin American and Caribbean Meeting of

Workers (ELAC), which was called by CONLUTAS from Brazil, the UNT from Venezuela, the Haiti central union and the Oakland dock workers to support the COB leaders from Bolivia. These same COB leaders at the same time supported the Morales government which made a pact with the fascist Media Luna, the killer of workers and peasants!

But now, imperialism has given a brutal counterrevolutionary blow in Honduras. The leaderships of the workers, allies of the Bolivarian bourgeoisies, have demobilized the working class of the whole American continent. If a year ago they called for a Latin American and Caribbean meeting, why don't they call now to all the workers organizations who claim to be militant and representatives of the anti-imperialist, anti-war fights, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, to make a continental congress to fight centralized against the coupists with strong class actions (strikes and the calling and preparing of workers brigades to go to fight in Honduras)? What is stopping these organizations, who claim to belong to the working class, to be militant and anti-imperialist –such as the ones that stopped the docks in the US west coast against the war on Iraq- from taking the lead of the fight of the struggle at a continental and international level to free the Peruvian miner prisoners, and to Free the Guantanamo prisoners, tortured now by Obama, as Bush did before?

Passivity means subordination to the Bolivarian bourgeoisies, to the “democratic fronts”, to the ones that reformism uses to subordinate the working class to their own bourgeoisies and regimes. Enough is enough!

Guantanamo hostages, the Palestinian prisoners, the ones of Afghanistan, the slaughters against the African working class, the attacks of the transnationals –as the one of Kraft against the Argentinean working class-, the dismissal of 60 000 workers of the electricity company in Mexico, the planet overflowing with imperialist US military bases- this is the real plan that the exploiters of the world have to make the working class and the exploited of the world pay for their crisis.

As it happened during the counterrevolutionary attack of the Zionist fascist army on Gaza, the world working class and its organisms must stand up. The militant workers of Cosatu in South Africa, the youth and the insurgent masses in Greece, the rebellious youth and the workers who occupied the factories in France, the ones that yesterday set up the march for the million workers against the

war in USA, the militant Japanese rebel youth (Zengakuren) and the movement of the revolutionary workers who fight against the new Democrat government of the Japanese imperialist butchers, who are oppressors of China and partners of the US, must be at the head of the combat right now and win in the streets and organize all kinds of actions in defence of the Peruvian fighters.

In Peru, let us build up a coordination organization in defence of all the prisoners of the FTA regime. The most useful organization would be a committee where each workers organization and those of the exploited people who have prisoners, legally accused, etc, have representation. The mass organizations, such as CGTP, the forest poor peasants organizations, such as Aidesep or Conacami, the organizations of coca peasants, etc. must be in the frontline of this struggle and organize joint actions to free the fighters and end all legal processes against them. Let's not allow a single prisoner more! Let's not negotiate or sign any agreement as long as they have tens of fighters as hostages!

But without any question, what will take our brothers and sisters out of prison, what will end the persecutions is the complete defeat of our enemies: the bosses, the transnationals and their servant, the Fujimorist FTA regime. This will be made by the methods of the working class, independently and fighting for its own interests, with a mass general strike. **Forward!**

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OF THE INTERNATIONAL LENINIST TROTSKYIST FRACTION

INTEGRATED BY:

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(SOUTH AFRICA)

HUMANISTS WORKERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM
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Send messages of protest to:

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Secretaria General de la Presidencia de la República

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Position: Secretario General

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Jefatura de Trámite Documentario y Archivo

Att: Ricardo Arturo Moreau Heredia

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Send messages of support to :

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**Please send copies of messages of solidarity/
support/protest for the Peruvian miners to**
ftinternational@ymail.com with cc to
workersinternational@gmail.com

Message of solidarity with our miner comrades from the Republic of Peru

The Executive Committee of the Central Obrera Boliviana denounces in front of the eyes of the world and Peruvian community the attitude of Alan Garcia's government, by having imprisoned the miners comrades Pedro Condori and Claudio Boza, who are union leaders from Casa Palca mine. They were imprisoned for raising their rightful social demands, calling for a strike, obeying with discipline their mandate from a decision of the sector assembly.

Because of this Alan Garcia's government in a dictatorial way imprisoned leaders, not only miners but everyone who criticize his government, imprisoning and submitting them to the bourgeois justice of that country.

This situation makes that all Latin-American workers must be unified to break with dictatorial governments who answer submissively US imperialism and we demand their immediate liberty respecting the free expression and protest of all the Peruvian workers.

COB is paying careful attention to any decision that our comrades workers from Peru may take and also we support morally and materially with their campaign for social rights, we also reject any attempt of harming their rights and their jobs.



LONG LIFE TO THE UNITY OF LATIN-AMERICA WORKERS!!!!

IMMEDIATE FREEDOM FOR THE COMRADES IMPRISONED FROM PERU!!!!

REJECT TO THE ATTITUDE OF ALAN GARCIA, SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM!!!!

LA PAZ, NOVEMBER 18TH 2009
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COB

Denounce the brutal offensive to destroy Peruvian miners' unions by the Garcia government!

In early September, the general secretary of the workers' union of the Casapalca mine was caught by the police without warning. Two other leaders were also put in jail. They are accused of 'the death of a police captain' that happened in October last year. This accusation is, however, totally absurd and unjust.

The Casapalca mineworkers' union has been waging the most militant fight among the Peruvian miners' unions. The arrests of the three leaders are nothing but a brutal political repression that is designed to destroy their union. Workers of the Casapalca mine have continued their dauntless fight on the basis of their union. Despite the fact that most of them are temporary workers employed by different subcontractors, they have united together by strengthening their union. This is why Garcia's government attacked their union. With this attack as a start, he intends to launch an offensive to eradicate the whole mineworkers' movement. Acutely aware of this intention, the national federation of Peruvian miners' unions rose in a 48-hour strike this October to fight back against the offensive.

Today, among South American countries, Peru is the most servile to US imperialism next to Colombia. The first thing that Alan Garcia did after his inauguration was the enforcement of the free trade agreement with the United States.

This country is noted for its rich mineral resources including silver, zinc, copper, tin and gold. Most of these minerals are produced, however, under the management of multinationals based in the US, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and other European countries. (Japanese monopolies including Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo have invested their capital.) This is the result of the free economic policy that was taken by Alberto Fujimori during his presidency in 1990s. Moreover, Chinese companies are making inroads into this country today with the Shougang Group in the lead.

The Garcia government, together with the Peruvian bourgeoisie, have pursued their own interests by expanding the development and export of mineral resources through the invitation of US, European monopolies and Chinese companies. This has, of course, enabled these foreign companies to enjoy the limitless plunder of natural resources and, on the other, caused severe poverty to workers and peasants in this country.

Peruvian rulers know well that mineworkers will lead the toiling masses in their struggle against the cruel exploitation and the plunder of resources by foreign companies and eventually expel the president as servant of US imperialism. This is why Peruvian rulers have launched an offensive to destroy the mineworkers' unions.



This attack is, however, stirring up another anger of the masses. And the anger is expanding like tidal waves beyond the Peruvian border.

Unite across borders to fight back!

From Bolivia, an ardent statement of solidarity has been issued by the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia [FSTMB], which has the 60-year old history of vigorous struggle and has been always in the forefront of the class struggle. In its statement, the FSTMB calls on workers all over the world to fight for the release of the Peruvian miners.

Comrades of the FLTI have also stood up in protest on the initiative of its Peruvian affiliate, Liga Trotskista Internacionalista [LTI]. They call for international actions to press the Peruvian government to unconditionally free the jailed leaders of the union together with militant workers and peasants of Amazonia.

In response to these calls, various organizations are joining the campaign one after another. They include Zanon, Brukman and other industrial workers of Argentina, Himalaya mine workers of Bolivia, the Santiago federation of university students together with education workers of Chile.

Comrades!

In response to the call from the Bolivian mineworkers' union, stand up together with comrades of the FLTI. Let us express our solidarity with Peruvian mineworkers! Immediately free our brothers of the Casapalca mine! Fight back against Garcia's repression of workers and peasants!

Japanese monopoly capitalists are tormenting workers in Japan with massive sackings and lower wages, driving them into poverty and unemployment more ruthlessly than ever. Moreover, in a desperate bid to wriggle out of the economic crisis, Japanese imperialists are bent on intensifying their neo-colonialist inroads into not only Asian countries but also Latin America — in a fret because China is outstripping them. We must never let them do it. We are determined to fight in solidarity with Peruvian mineworkers, and with all working people in Latin America, who are struggling to break the cruel exploitation and expropriation by monopoly capitalist corporations of the US, Japanese and other imperialist countries and by greedy companies of China, which is intensifying its attempts to capture natural resources worldwide with an ambition to become a 'superpower of the 21st century'.

In order to break the offensives to impose poverty upon the toiling masses, let us strengthen our unity with comrades who are fighting all over the world!

(EXCERPTED FROM WEEKLY KAIHOH No. 2095)

Resolutions of the First Congress of the ILTF

Resolutions on Brazil

Whereas:

1. The imperialist capitalist system is bankrupt, but while workers have always been penniless under capitalism, it is now the profits of that bunch of parasites of the world finance oligarchy, that are in deep crisis.

For the bourgeoisie not to fall in the abyss, it will download the full weight of the crisis on the backs of the working class. In order to do this, all the bourgeois gangs are in agreement: to attack the whole working class and the exploited masses with greater unemployment, higher taxes, inflation, high cost of living, and against the ones who want to fight against the bourgeoisie, they attack with repression, jail, and death.

2. From the end of 2008, when it was clear that the capitalist crisis that started in 2007 would affect the Brazilian economy very much, a unified front at the top was created by the Brazilian bourgeoisie, comprising all the fractions of the bureaucracy: from the most pro capitalist fractions within the trade union federation, the CUT - complete with ministers and public officials in the government of the popular front, direct agents and main supporters of the social pact of Lula- together with the rightwing union Forca Sindical, to the left ones such as Conlutas and Intersindical as well.

The Popular Front government, with Lula at the head, said that the crisis belonged to the imperialist powers USA, Europe, and Japan and this would not affect the Brazilian economy much since it was armoured and protected by the 200 billion dollars of international reserves accumulated in the last years. According to Lula's speech, the capitalist crisis will be seen in Brazil only as a small wave.

3. Supporting Lula's position, were all the popular front parties, the PT (Workers Party) and CP (Communist Party) of Brazil and also the most corrupted sectors of the union bureaucracy such as in the CUT, Forca Sindical, CTB, UGT, CGTB, so on. These sectors claimed that the government should give compensation to the capitalists, especially the ones linked to production as the big industry, commerce and agriculture. They also proclaimed that the government should discipline the finance sector in order to avoid the financial bubble that had already exploded in the imperialist centres.

The union bureaucracy agreed with the popular front to guarantee that the capitalists could download the effects of the crisis onto the working class. All the speeches that the crisis would not affect the Brazilian economy was a smokescreen aimed to disarm the workers resistance. These arguments were quickly ended when the index of

the stock exchange fell by almost 50%, as well as when a rapid devaluation of the currency (*Real* related to Dollar) occurred, where it lost near 50% of its value, going from R\$ 1.60 to R\$ 2.40. Those losses and devaluation of the *Real* made the bourgeoisie and the Lula Government panic. Facing the panic that was already widespread in the country, Lula, rapidly distributed compensation to the capitalists that reached R \$ 300 billion following the examples of the different imperialist governments, such as USA, Europe, Japan and also of semi colonial countries such as India, Russia, China.

Lula promoted the idea that with this compensation he could delay and cushion, at least temporarily, the effects of the attacks of the bourgeoisie in the form of lay-offs, furloughs (reduction of working days and payments), companies' closures, "voluntary retirement", etc. The massive attacks against the working class has accelerated in January this year, when thousands were laid off- then, reaching 2 million dismissals- with more furloughs (forced leave without pay) and salary-reductions, collective holidays, so on.

4. As paramedics to the capitalists, the union bureaucracy rushed to negotiate hundreds of agreements giving away the gains of the working class in the last period, in the name of a supposed job security. At the same time that they betrayed the working class with the worst possible agreements, the union bureaucracy rushed to ask for the popular front's support, so that Lula intercedes with the bosses to prevent the layoffs. Firstly, Lula affirmed that the bosses were taking advantage of the crisis to remove workers' rights, but later even though the multi billion compensation was given to the capitalists, Lula said that he could not intervene in internal questions of the companies, corroborating and supporting all the capitalists' attacks under his own command.

5. The renegades of Trotskyism did not have a much different position to that of the different fractions of the bureaucracy. PSOL, where all the renegades are, such as Mandelist as Heloisa Helea, Morenists as Baba of CST, etc, said that the crisis was not a crisis of the capitalism but a finance crisis caused by the non-regulation of markets and the sub-prime bubble. Those renegades behaved as counsellors (advisors) of the popular front, proposing measures for greater regulation of the financial markets, as well as for giving priority to so-called "productive investments", defending a program that was 'developmentalist' in character, they focused their actions on parliamentary demands like a bill proposing changes in financial regulations to 'curb the excesses' of the financial markets.

6. The rightward evolution of the Conlutas/PSTU and Intersindical/PSOL in Brazil is shown by their role in creating a single united front with the far right bureaucracy. This alliance (Conlutas and Intersindical with CUT and Fuerza Sindical) was decisive in causing the defeats suffered by the proletariat in these first six months of 2009. Conlutas and Intersindical, in the WSF (World Social Forum) meeting in Belen at the beginning of 2009, called for the "rejection" of the **Pact of Union Action (PAS-Pacto de Acción Sindical)** signed by CUT (PT), Fuerza Sindical (PDT), CTB (CP of Brazil), CGTB and UGT. This pact by the union bureaucracy supported Lula's government and his policy that the working class pay for the capitalist crisis. What the Conlutas and Intersindical said in words, were not what they did in practice.

It inaction of the Conlutas/PSTU and Intersindical bureaucracy was exposed when they allowed more than 5000 layoffs in Embraer and GM in San Jose dos Campos, in the metallurgic union branch led by Conlutas/PSTU, without a fight. This is the signal that they are part of the **PAS** bureaucracy that together with CUT and Fuerza Sindical bureaucracy, all of them, have led the working class to defeat in the face of brutal attacks by the capitalists.

In this way, the social pact regime and the Lula popular front government were reinforced, and they left the vanguard's hands tied so it could be smashed and in this way, Lula could pose as the new star of the G20. This **PAS** implementation is what allows the Brazilian bourgeoisie to launch greater attacks on the public workers of San Pablo, hand in hand with Serra and PSDB (Social Democrat Brazilian Party). Therefore, they have left the working class without the leadership to react against the bosses' attacks. In fact the leaders are the ones who hold the working class back from resisting the attacks from the capitalists.

7. Therefore, Lula in the name of the entire gang of slavemasters, downloads the capitalist attacks on the exploited masses and negotiates together with the other slave semicolonial bourgeoisie gathered in "B.R.I.C" (Brazil-Russia-India-China), since the social pact regime guarantees that in the face of the crisis, Brazil should continue to be the most stable country in Latin America as it concentrates 80% of the foreign investments in the region, located to the South of Rio Bravo. Those businesses are

guaranteed by the blood, flesh, muscle and bones of the South American workers, with 2 million workers sacked, with 60 million unemployed workers enslaved in a huge industrial reserve army, who regularly are taken on and dismissed from the production lines. These are the consequences of the actions of the left reformist currents of the renegades of Trotskyism and the "re-organization" of several sectors of the bureaucracy, that will take one more step forward very soon, due to the "merger" of Conlutas with Intersindical.



University teachers vote for strike

8. In the struggle of the non-teaching staff, the workers, together the combative students in the University of San Pablo-USP- once again, the traitorous role of the Intersindical and Conlutas bureaucracy was exposed because they created the conditions for the isolation of the fight of the workers and students of USP, Unicamp and UESP, after the defeat of the industrial workers, on whom the sliding scale of layoffs, closures, suspensions and wage cuts was imposed. The policy of the united front with the bureaucracy created the isolation of the

struggles and the conditions for Serra (the Social Democrat Sao Pablo Governor) to send the army to the university and repress the strikers with the full agreement of Lula and the PT. It was PSTU/LIT, supported by PSOL and LER-QI, who did everything possible to abort the unification process of the struggles by not calling a general strike by workers, teachers and students of the 3 universities. Instead they limited the struggle within the terrain of USP, since PSOL, LER-QI, Causa Operaria and the other renegades refused to raise up a united front proposal to regroup the ranks of our class to prepare to respond to the attack by the government.

They were the obstacle to transforming this combat into a reference point for all the workers who were resisting the capitalist attacks, and to achieve this, they raised a policy of democratic front, raising the demand for the withdrawal of the police from the USP, the dismissal of the Dean Suely Vilela and calling for a new election for Dean at the university, "in the framework of the current legislation". All of them have concentrated their fight against Serra, welcoming the solidarity of Lulista bureaucrats, such as Eduardo Suplicy and Aloisio Mercadante, with the strikers. Applying this policy of the democratic front, they called on workers to trust the "democratic" Lula to confront Serra and thereby conquer their demands: they showed absolute cynicism by deceiving the workers, as this attack on them was just

and extension of the attacks led by the anti worker government of PT and CUT, and resulted in a brutal repression led by Serra in agreement with Lula, against the workers and students of USP. Before this repressive attack of the government, they were unwilling to urgently launch the setting up of self defence committees of workers and students! And they were unwilling to launch a tripartite University Governing structure –of student, workers and teachers-, with the majority of students!

All the renegades of Trotskyism, together with the Stalinists, have conspired once again against the working class so that a class program would not be raised against the bosses attack, being aware of the great forces that could have been united. The united front of the bureaucracies of CUT, Fuerca Sindical, Conlutas, Intersindical, etc., with MST and UNE and the help of LER-QI, Causa Operaria, LBI, etc, try to prevent this real workers unity in action from happening, by all means at their disposal.

9. CONLUTAS/PSTU refused to lead or orient any struggle against the layoffs, with strikes, factory occupation, and so on. Their policy is only to call on all the treacherous union bureaucracies to put pressure on the parliamentary Chambers in favour of a bill for the reduction of the working week to 40 hours without reduction in salaries, while saying that the struggle for the 36 hours without reduction in salary and rights, must be promoted within these very same capitalist institutions. This, they claimed, “would generate millions of jobs”. They also posed to the central trade unions that “Altogether we have to demand that Lula’s government declares a provisional (interim) measure”, to forbid any layoffs. In order to make a show of fighting against dismissals, they organised a public meeting on March 31st in Paulista Av. in Sao Pablo, gathering all the wings of the bureaucracy: CUT, Fuerza Sindical, UGT, CGTB, CTB, Intersindical and CONLUTAS.

CONLUTAS also called Lula for aid to re-nationalise Embrear and Vale and to nationalize GM, a bourgeois policy in the Bolivarian style. Those nationalizations that PSTU propose are similar to those applied by Chavez in Venezuela, who rushed to “nationalize” several companies like SIDOR, Tabsa, Matesi and Comsigua -which all belong to the Techint Group- paying billions of dollars in compensation, and then he presented these “nationalizations” as an advance towards socialism; all this meant was a brutal transference of working class resources into the pockets of the capitalists.

But the stark difference between the Conlutas approach and the raising the program of the IV International should leave any shadow of doubt: “We vindicate the expropriation of the companies that monopolize the war industry, the railway, and the most important sources of raw material and so on”. The difference between these demands and the very old reformist slogan of “nationalization” consists of:

We reject any compensation to the capitalists;

We warn the masses against the idle chatter of the Popular Front, that while they propose the nationalization in words, they continue being the agent of big capital in practice.

We suggest to the masses that they only trust in their own revolutionary forces,

We link the expropriation problem to the worker and poor peasant power question

There is one solution -the only solution- for the workers of GM, Vale, Embracer and for all the workers under the boss’ attacks, layoffs, etc.: Expropriation without compensation, under workers control or direct workers administration of all the factories that close, suspend or dismiss as the first step towards the nationalization of the entire branch of production, in order to put the machines to work to produce for the needs of the working class and the poor people!

For this, we have to reclaim the tradition of the combats at the end of the ‘70s, set up factories committees, strike committees, the congresses of factories’ committees, etc. to unify and regroup the ranks of the workers to defeat the bureaucracy, to fight for the capitalists pay for their own crisis. Down with the union bureaucracy of all kinds! Down with the wage slavery-social pact of Lula, PT, CUT and the bosses! We call for huge campaigns of all the workers organizations to fight for breaking with the policy of the social pact of CUT, Fuerza Sindical, Conlutas, Intersindical bureaucracies and with the subordination to the wage slavery bosses! We don’t have to recognize the agreements signed by the union bureaucracy against the workers! Down with the **PAS!**

The solution will not come with the fake “nationalizations” of GM that CONLUTAS/PSTU demands of Lula. Stop privatizing the gains and nationalizing the loss that the workers and exploited masses must pay! We want the expropriation of the profitable factories that have the most advanced technology! Expropriation without compensation under workers control of all the monopolies of the auto industry as Ford, VW, Fiat, and so on! No more dismissals! All the workers under contract to be made permanent! Sliding scale of wages and hours of work! Reduction of the hours of work to put all the available hands to work, without reduction in salaries, and a salary based on the basket of goods index-linked to workers’ inflation and this should be calculated by the workers organizations! Occupation and expropriation of all the companies that close or dismiss! No forced collective holidays nor forced early retirement (nor even the so-called voluntary retirement schemes)! When there is no work, the bosses must pay! No schemes of ‘banking’ of working hours! Workers control of the companies via the factories’ committees independent of the union bureaucracy!

Against the capitalists who want to make us pay the crisis, while they keep making fortunes from our misery: Down with the commercial and bank secrets! For the opening of the financial books and bank accounts of the bosses to prove that they made billions of dollars overnight from the financial roulette table and from the compensation

given by Lula's state; while at the same time, workers and poor people were made to pay for the crisis with closures, dismissals, suspensions, wage reduction and repression of their struggles!

For cheap credit for production in the nationalized companies which are under workers control: The 200 billion dollars of "reserves" in the Central Bank belong to the workers and poor peasants!

Expropriation without compensation of all the banks, starting with the City Bank, HSBC, Itaú, Santander, etc! For a single state bank under workers control, to give cheap credit to the landless peasants, the impoverished sectors of the middle class, workers, poor people and cancel their debts! To regroup the ranks of workers we raise a new program that attacks the exploiters' property and unifies the demands of all the sectors of the working class and exploited masses! We must expropriate the expropriators!

For this combat to succeed we must to seal an alliance with the landless peasants: We must expropriate the landowners and "fazendeiros" through the nationalization of their land without compensation, putting such land to produce as collective farms under workers control and financed by the state! The land to the landless poor peasants! Cancel the debts to all small producers with less of 100 hectares who work their own land without exploiting workers! We must free our black brothers from the workshops and "fazendas" where they are enslaved! The organized black workers and Quilombolas movements must break their subordination to the state and put those organizations at the service of the fight against the bureaucracy, the government, the bosses, fazendeiros (landowners) and national monopolies, servants of imperialism! Down with slavery! Expropriation of the large landed estates, the only way to liberate the slaves from the "fazendas"! For self-defence committees—based on the workers and landless peasant organizations—against the repression of Lula's and "fazendeiros'" fascistic white squads!

Renationalization without compensation and under workers control of Petrobras, Embraer, Vale and all privatized companies! For the nationalization without payment and under workers control, of all foreign trade! No payment of the foreign debt, to guarantee free health and education for all the workers and poor people! Expropriation without compensation of the private and church education! Progressive taxes for the rich!

For the workers not to pay the crisis, and for the capitalists to pay it, we have to seize power, we need the socialist revolution. Otherwise if capitalists remain in power, they will continue throwing the crisis on the backs of the exploited masses, causing new sufferings for the masses.

PSTU, PSOL, LER-QI, LBI and other renegades of Trotskyism—that claim to talk on behalf of socialism, saying that the crisis must be paid by capitalists—are against this perspective with all their might. They are the ones who have to explain why "there are no conditions" for socialism, why they slander and attack us physically to prevent us from propelling the program of the socialist revolution among the workers and exploited masses and their organizations.

These currents that have renounced Trotskyism in practice, usurp its banners, they who call themselves anti-capitalists propel demonstrations to pressure parliament so that the representatives of the bourgeoisie vote a law to forbid dismissals; and also put pressure on Lula's government so that it nationalizes GM, etc. I.e. they demand that the expropriators of the exploited masses expropriate themselves, it is like asking a cat to take care of the fish. That is a reactionary utopia.



47% of the land in the hands of 1% of the population

Facing the world economic crisis there are two alternatives: proletarian or capitalist. For the working class to live, imperialism must die, and for that we must seize power. Those who raise the program of the IV International—this is on the order of the day—affirm that we can neither stop the dismissals, nor conquer an increase in wages, nor put a factory into production unless we organize the general strike. To achieve this, it is imperative as the main revolutionary task of the healthy Trotskyists to call on the sectors of the honest vanguard of all the movements to fight for a national congress of rank and file delegates of CUT, Conlutas and peasants organizations to conquer the general strike and fight to stop the dismissals and for increase in wages for all. This is the path to unify the ranks of the workers which are currently divided because of the action of the treacherous bureaucracy and the united front at the top convened by Conlutas, Intersindical and other trade unions; this congress is where millions of non-unionized workers will be able to send their rank and file delegates.

Left reformist currents—who have become renegades of Trotskyism—still have influence in wide sectors of the

masses through rank and file organizations like Conlutas and Intersindical, and therefore we cannot have a policy of abstentionism in confronting this united front at the top. That is why we need to get workers to break from this demoralizing policy. They say they have a plan to leave the crisis behind. They say that the way is to put pressure on parliament so it votes into law the reduction of the working week to 40 hours, without reducing the salaries; they also call on the trade unions to demand Lula's government to sign a provisional measure – to decree- to forbid dismissals and also ask Lula for help so that he re-nationalises Embraer and Vale, nationalize GM -applying the Bolivarian way- following Chavez steps. This is not our plan.

However- as Trotsky said- reformists cannot even call for a serious fight for their own plan to impose it. It is necessary to tell the rank and file workers organizations (CUT, Conlutas, etc.) that are facing the crisis, the Trotskyists fight for the socialist revolution, propel the transitional program that we pose here and we recognize ourselves as a minority fraction of the working class. However we cannot merely say that the reformists have great conditions to call for a serious fight for their own program, i.e. call on them to organize a Workers Congress with rank and file delegates to prepare and organize the general strike to impose "their" own plan. Because if they say that there are no condition to fight even for their own plan (the reformist one) what they really mean is that they don't want to fight and have already abandoned the combat before starting it. The National Congress of rank and file delegates of all workers and landless peasants organizations to prepare the general strike is a key tool to fight against all the reformist currents and expose before the workers movement that these leaderships are incapable of getting the slightest demands, even those raised by the own reformist groups.

10. When Peruvian masses shed their blood in the Amazonia fighting against imperialist monopolies (Totalfina-Petrobras, Camargo Correa) and the main Brazilian wood companies, we must raise an urgent call to the Brazilian proletariat: Long live the oil field occupations and expropriation without compensation, under workers control of all the companies that belong to imperialism and the lackey Brazilian bourgeoisie that plunders Amazonas at both sides of the border!

Today in Peru -as yesterday in Bolivia- we see that they want to impose a siege on the revolutionary combative workers and peasant masses. We must fight against such a siege that the labour aristocracy and union bureaucracy, and all the treacherous leadership are preparing, organized in ELAC (by PSTU) and Conlutas against the working class of the continent. As they did in Bolivia, Conlutas/PSTU and ELAC together with Intersindical/PSOL, prevented the Brazilian workers from entering the combat with their class brothers of the Southern Cone. That is how they acted over the massacre by Alan Garcia, Petrobras and the rest of the imperialist oil and mine companies. They are the ones who refuse to fight for the military defeat of Brazilian,

Argentinean, and other troops in Haiti; the same forces that together with the armed gangs of the fazendeiros to repress the workers strikes and the landless workers as they also did in the USP struggle.

They are the left of "order and progress" while their bourgeoisie make good business and by all means they prevent the largest working class of the South Cone from fighting and unifying around one demand -across the borders- the combat against the attack of imperialism and the lackey bourgeoisies. This is the left of the WSF (World Social Forum), which covers the back of the Castrist bureaucracy while it restores capitalism in Cuba.

To confront the coup on Honduras, in all workers organizations, we must urgently raise the demand that Conlutas immediately call a new emergency meeting of ELAC (Latin American meeting of workers delegates), so that from

the organizations that compose it: COB, Conlutas, C-CURA –UNT of Venezuela- with the Oakland dockworkers, they prepare and organize a continental combat against Obama and Honduran coupist bourgeoisie. The Million workers March must be set up again, the millions of Latin American immigrants must take out the streets inside the heartland of US imperialism! Together with the Latin American and Caribbean workers, with strikes, pickets, blockades coordinated from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego to defeat the attack against Honduran masses. That is the path to confront the traps proposed by the Bolivarians, of negotiations and reconciliation with the coup leaders.

11. The lesson for the working class is that in Brazil the proletariat cannot gain its class independence, not even a program to unify its ranks to force the capitalist to pay



Lula meets Obama

for their own crisis; because the headquarters of the world counterrevolution is in Brasil. These currents collaborated with the Bolivarian revolution to prevent the triumph of the Latin-American revolution and the awakening of US working class. That is why they have been called upon to build the new anti-capitalist parties, exporting their proven counterrevolutionary experience throughout the world and now they have received their reward, since they have now been integrated into the social pact regime in Brazil. That is why today it is more necessary than ever to build the headquarters of the international socialist revolution.

The internationalist Trotskyists of the Fracción Trotskista – Vanguardia Proletaria of Brazil, members of the Fracción Leninista Trotskista Internacional -together with LOI-CI of Argentina, LTI of Peru, POI-CI of Chile, LTI of Bolivia, CWG of New Zealand, HRS of USA, WIVL of South Africa- fight to give the exploited masses of Brazil the leadership they deserve to fight and win; against the renegades of Trotskyism of PSTU-LIT and PSOL, LER-QI, LBI and others types of petty-bourgeois sects that have abandoned the program for the revolution and the struggle for socialism a long time ago. Today in the face of the crisis of the capitalism-imperialism, the renegades show their parasitism to the starving masses of the world.

Therefore, it is resolved:

1. Based on these considerations, in the following days, to produce a statement on the political struggle against the treacherous leaderships and especially against the renegades of Trotskyism in Brazil

2. To publish the FT balance sheet on the council elections on October 2008 in Brazil.

3. To prepare a programmatic combative pamphlet against the LBI, based on what was written by FT-PV in its polemic against this group of renegade Trotskyists.

4. To edit a new issue of “*Vanguardia Proletaria*”, as well as a new issue of the IWO in Portuguese.

5. As regards POM offensive –which we still have to deepen even more- Comrade Hu's trip, at the beginning of this year, meant first the delimitation of POM as a “booby trap” current that together with the LCT prepared a monster of an international conference, of the 2 and a half type (reformist while posing as revolutionaries). Even though this offensive has “FAILED” in relation to the immediate recruiting of workers and honest youth cadres of the POM into our ranks, it allowed firstly, the political delimitation of the POM as a “booby trap” who tried to prevent the

revolutionaries from achieving the regrouping that we are achieving at this Congress. This political struggle also allowed us to break the centrist bloc and to attract valued cadres such as MT towards the internationalist ranks and of course it left us with great possibilities to recruit the best honest and combative students, such as M of USP, who now has fraternal political relations with the FLTI.

6. FT stated that in relation to the WSF, our characterization is that it is an organism to pressure the NGOs, reformists and union bureaucrats into an alliance with imperialism. It is an instrument of negotiation of the NGOs with imperialism. In this way, WSF has the role to control and divert the manifestations of discontent and resistance of the exploited and oppressed masses, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the last WSF meeting convened in Belen, the meat to be sold by the NGO's to imperialism was the natives' and the environment question. NGOs and the reformists still support the popular front and nationalist government; for that reason they played host to personalities such as Morales, Chavez, Lula, Correa, Fernando Lugo.

7. FT stated that on the balance sheet of the Fourth International, as it was destroyed by Pabloism in the '50s, it is necessary to rebuild it. As we agree that the Fourth was founded by Trotsky based on the Transitional Program, therefore; there is no reason to re-found it and even less to found a Fifth International since in this historical moment, this would mean to divert from these foundations.

8. Liaison Committee:

As regards the tasks that emerged from the growth and strengthening of the FLTI section in Brazil, and in relation to MT's letter that we consider an essential political balance sheet that makes a programmatic delimitation from the political groups where the comrade had been a militant or had some form of relationship with:

- *We agree with the resolutions on Brazil and comrade MT's balance sheet and we propose to publish them in Vanguardia Proletaria and in the IWO in the three languages, of course taking out the organizational questions of the FLTI.*
- *We are acutely conscious that what unites us is the internationalist program, proven everyday in the class struggle taking concrete positions in the face of events.*
- *In this way, we agree to be part of a Liaison committee so we can work together in Brazil, the FT VP-FLTI and comrade MT, for the next 6 months until the next FLTI Congress.*

BY BRAZILIAN COMMISSION; MARQ, MT, WT
INTERNATIONAL LENINIST TROTSKYIST FRACTION

Resolutions of the First Congress of the ILTF

On questions of principle and the revolutionary use of democratic demands

In the founding Congress of the ILTF all the delegates of the participating groups agreed on principle points with which to approach the use of democratic demands. In capitalism of the 19th century there was the valid use of and separation into the minimum and maximum programme. But in the period of capitalist decadence, in the epoch of imperialism, the use of democratic demands changed; this is the epoch of the permanent revolution and the transitional programme, which acts as a bridge between the immediate demands of the masses and the programme of the socialist revolution.

We never raise the demand for a Constituent Assembly as a demand which implies that the working class can take power through it (ie as a 'power' demand), because in the imperialist epoch, it is not possible today to struggle solely for reforms, as on this point explained in the 1938 Transitional programme: *"Any demand of the working class, and even any progressive demand of the petty-bourgeoisie, will mean inevitably a struggle against capitalist property relations and the bourgeois state."* Imperialism is incapable of giving bread to the workers, land to the peasants and national independence to the oppressed nations. The only way to guarantee and conquer even the most minimum demands, is through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In a revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situation, the revolutionary programme requires the setting up of soviets and militias, the only organs with which the proletariat, supported by its allies, can take power. Any democratic demand, including its most far-reaching, such as a constituent or national assembly, must be subordinate to the strategy for soviets, and which assists in the setting up of soviets and the arming thereof. If today we have the embryos of soviets and militias, the programme should concentrate on their development. This is to say, the so-called 'marxists' who propose as their strategy, the struggle for a constituent assembly, at the very time when the masses enter on the revolutionary path, are in deed opposing (holding back) the revolution and are acting as the paramedics, as saviours of capitalism.

Under conditions of a military dictatorship, fascism or bonapartism, the democratic demands must be used to link with the most urgent and necessary demands of the masses. Under these conditions, the workers go into combat under a state of siege, the organizers and working class fighters are

assassinated and persecuted, the working class organizations are prohibited, as are their struggle activities. Democratic demands, from the freedom of assembly and freedom of expression, the right to strike, etc, up to the most far-reaching such as for a constituent assembly, are most closely linked to the demands of the masses. Because in the hands of the workers, democratic demands not only serve to defend their rights but give a cover, a legitimacy to defeat the dictatorship with their own proletarian methods: with the general arming of the workers.

They also serve to demonstrate in the eyes of the masses, the impoverished layers of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie, that the 'democratic' bourgeois opposition parties are also enemies of the struggle for democracy, and that the bourgeois (or petty bourgeois) groups, even the ones with a large proletarian base, who act as a part of the bourgeois government, will be bonapartist or fascist. This was the experience of Bolshevism in the epoch of the February Russian revolution.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries both democratic and revolutionary tasks exist (are posed): the agrarian question and that of national liberation, these are connected in a most profound manner, and can only be resolved through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as elaborated in the Transitional Programme of 1938. These demands are structurally connected. A backward country is not free, and its agrarian problem cannot be solved. They are tied to the designs of imperialism in one way or another, as can be expected from being a colony or semi-colony, with its land in the hands of the transnationals; and it is exactly here that bourgeois agrarian reform plays a role to avoid (betray) the revolution, the poor peasant is weighed down with debts to the banks; in one form or another the poor peasant is ruined and exploited by the local parasitic lackeys of finance capital.

Thus, national liberation and the solution of the agrarian question are not only democratic demands which could be regarded as episodic, but we always raise them in our programme and we explain that they can be resolved through the working class and its exploited allies taking power not only in the backward countries, but also, fundamentally, with the working class taking power in the very imperialist countries (that are responsible for the enslavement of the colonies and semi-colonies).

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE ILTF

Discussion on Africa

Thesis on the national and colonial question with respect to Africa (FLTI)

1. Our starting point is the Thesis on the national and colonial question as adopted by the second congress of the III International in 1920, which in essence is still valid today. Thus our basis is *'Under the pretence of the equality of the human person in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal legal equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, and thus deceives the oppressed classes in the highest degree. The idea of equality, which is itself a reflection of the relations of commodity production, is transformed by the bourgeoisie, under the pretext of the absolute equality of the human person, into a tool in the struggle against the abolition of classes. The true significance of the demand of equality lies only in the demand for the abolition of classes.'* Further, *'the national and colonial question must be based mainly on the union of the workers and toiling masses of all nations and countries in the common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie. For only such a union can secure victory over capitalism, without which the destruction of national oppression and inequality is impossible.'*

This means that in the first instance that the process of 'decolonisation' in Africa, as it was not carried out by the working class in power, maintained slave capitalist relations. This is why the 'neo-colonial' regimes were bonapartist regimes and at times fascist dictatorships. As Marx said, the new relations are choked by the old- this is especially true of the 'decolonisation' process in the period of imperialist decay. In other words, in the epoch of imperialist decay, it is impossible to install 'free capitalist' relations in the colonial world, and what is possible, under capitalism, is only the continuation of slave capitalist relations in another form.

We acknowledge that today our programmatic method involves re-establishing continuity among the Trotskyists around the world, the thread which has been broken by Stalinism and imperialism. We re-affirm that a revolutionary



Soweto, 1976

International centre cannot form its programme on Africa without the involvement of the African Trotskyists and the Trotskyists in Africa cannot conquer its programme without a revolutionary international centre.

Trotsky's writings on the 'black' republic in the 1930's cannot be directly applied today, as conditions have changed, although his method is still valid. In the 1930's all the countries in Africa were direct colonies. The call for a **'black' workers' republic** is not only to dispute/contest slave capitalist relations but to give direction as to which social force (the working class), is the leader of the revolution.

The working class was mature enough in the 1930's to seize power. Even at the end of the second world imperialist war, this was the case, when Stalinism and imperialism formed a partnership to defeat/contain the national liberation struggles. The slogan for a 'black' republic needs to be adjusted to be a **'black' workers and poor peasants republics, socialist**, to counter the bourgeois black republic that Stalinism proposed as a first stage towards a workers republic, and their methods of popular fronts and guerillaism (applied in Africa and South America). The conditions were ripe in the post 1945 period in Southern

Africa and the Middle East for the working class to take power. The imperialist deal with Stalinism was to impose a fascistic regime, creating the artificial state of Israel as well as the National Party regime in South Africa in 1948. This was to contain and defeat the working class revolution in the Middle east and Southern Africa respectively.

In 'Israel' and South Africa, the creation of a labour aristocracy was necessary to act as imperialism's shock troops in the region. Out of this arises our slogan for the Socialist, United states of the Middle east and the Socialist United states of Southern Africa. In the case of Africa, this is part of our perspective for a Soviet Africa. We still maintain that the working class is mature enough to lead the revolution for Socialism.

We stand not only for the defeat of the Israeli and SA army, but also the defeat of the imperialist armies in the Middle East and Africa. Today the Israeli army acts as the bastion of imperialism in the Middle East while the SA army acts as the proxy force of US imperialism (one could say, as one of the military wings of JP Morgan Chase in Africa). The revolution in Africa and the Middle east is thus inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class in the imperialist centres to overthrow their own regimes to set up the dictatorship of the working class.

Our conception is for the setting up of sections in Africa, the Middle east, in Latin America, in Australasia, in the imperialist centres, as part of a single revolutionary International. Our conception of a Soviet Africa thus fundamentally different from the Pan-Africanists, who propose national 'socialist' regimes in Africa, separated from the struggle against world imperialism. A strategy that does not fight world imperialism, is one that seeks to become the local bourgeois agent for imperialism, under the rhetoric of African socialism.

2. The development of capitalism came to Africa relatively later than elsewhere in the world. Capitalism developed in the destructive period of imperialist decay, destroying the developing nations and instituting slave capitalist relations which were much worse than in the pre-capitalist period. The massive destruction wrought on the African masses through the slave trade impacted on the development of Africa. Before the slave trade by the colonial powers in Africa, hunger and starvation was virtually unknown except for naturally occurring droughts and famines. Today in the epoch of imperialist decay, in Africa we have the highest advances of technology side by side with structural mass starvation and hunger. Imperialism in Africa today has grown out of slave relations, basing itself

on this super-exploitation and is thus incapable of ending the remnants of slavery in Africa and around the world. The world capitalist imperialist system is thus the main factor which maintains slave capitalist (super-exploitative) relations in Africa. Further, imperialism actively perpetuates various forms of pre-capitalist society, such as tribal and ethnic divisions, as supporting mechanisms of domination. Imperialism in Africa, suppresses the development of an indigenous bourgeoisie and middle classes and has need of only a small section to implement its domination of the masses. This local bourgeoisie has no independent existence from imperialism, acts as its administrator of imperialist private property and acts against the masses' striving for their democratic demands. The task of fighting for the fulfilment of the democratic programme thus cannot be placed in the hands of the local bourgeoisie or even the petty bourgeoisie. Imperialism is incapable of granting or allowing even any independent national capitalist states. The struggle for real national independence in Africa can only take the form of an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle to end once and for all the world capitalist system; this means that the right of nations to self-determination in Africa, the restoration of the productive forces destroyed by imperialism, the restoration of truly independent nations



in Africa, can only be achieved through the leadership of the working class and thus of the working class taking power. This struggle for the working class to take power on national terrain cannot stop at this stage but has to continue, as part of an uninterrupted process, of expanding the revolution beyond national boundaries, beyond Africa, and into the imperialist heartlands.

3. The 1885 Berlin conference divided up Africa among the most advanced capitalist powers, using the creation of a white bureaucracy and aristocracy to act as a social force of domination. Artificial 'nations' such as 'zulu', 'xhosa' were created by imperialism as a means to divide the working class, thereby facilitating its domination. We do

not recognise any single border in Africa as these have been imposed by imperialism; The 1899-1902 Anglo Boer war was described by Lenin (in his work on imperialism-the final stage of capitalism) as one of the signs that imperialism has divided up the entire world among themselves and that the period of definitive decay, war, revolutions and counter-revolutions had started (capitalism could only expand from then on, by inter-imperialist clashes). Lenin spoke in general of a revolutionary bourgeois democratic dictatorship carried out by an independent class policy of the proletariat. In Lenin's April thesis in 1917, he clarified that the democratic tasks such as peace and land could only be achieved by the working class taking power. Lenin later clarified further, that whoever placed the tasks of completing the democratic tasks in the hands of the middle class or native bourgeoisie (the so called 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'), has gone over to the side of the counter-revolution. The April thesis thus coincided in essence with the view of Trotsky as expressed in his Permanent Revolution, which explained that in this period of imperialist decay, in the colonies, the only way for the democratic tasks to be fulfilled was through the working class taking power. This meant that only the independent organization of the working class could lead the struggle for national independence and agrarian revolution to its conclusion. Trotsky links the struggle to free the colonial slaves with the fight for a Soviet England, that the anti-colonial struggle for a soviet South Africa and that for Soviet England are processes that are dependent on each other, which would open up a period of proletarian mutual co-operation. Generalizing this, the struggle to freedom from colonial and now remnants of slave capitalist relations, is linked to the fight for Soviet USA, Soviet France, Soviet England, Soviet Germany and Soviet Japan. These processes for a Soviet Africa is thus dependent on the struggle for the Soviet federation of the Americas, the European soviet federation, the soviet federation in Australasia.

4. The rise of Stalinism (then Castrism, Maoism, Titoism) usurping the authority of the October Russian revolution and the workers' state, before the second world imperialist war, during and after, with its policy of co-existence with imperialism, meant the direct betrayal of all national struggles for liberation. The result of this treacherous policy has directly led to conditions in Africa that is worse today than before capitalism set foot there. Various factors combined to imperialism deciding to keep Africa mainly as a base for exporting unprocessed, raw materials (these included that imperialism and Stalinism drew the lessons from the Russian 1917 revolution and the second imperialist world war, that industrialization increases the prospects of revolution against them; there was also the need to buy off the European, Japanese and North American working class,

which forced maintaining high levels of industrialization, at the expense of being subsidized by brutal super-exploitation in Africa- also it is not for nothing that Cuba was maintained by the Russian bureaucracy, primarily as an exporter of sugar; The masses in Africa were still resisting colonization up to the last moments of the 1800's; imperialism realised that if such a combative mass were greatly industrialised, the existence of imperialism-capitalism itself would be placed in jeopardy; indeed also the life of the Soviet bureaucracy, and later the castrist bureaucracy, would also be placed in danger by the existence of a workers' state in any part of Africa)

By 1928, the policy of the Executive committee of the Communist International, ECCI, on their discussion on South Africa was for '*independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white*'. They conclude that the '*black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution*'; further, the ECCI, argued that '*The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations... Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists.*' Thus by 1928 stalinism was placing the leadership of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle in the hands of the local petti bourgeoisie and sacrificing working class independence for the building of multi-class national liberation movements. The task of the fight against imperialism was also separated from the international terrain onto national terrain through a national 'native republic' led by the local petti-bourgeoisie, as a stage towards a workers and peasants republic. Separation of the struggle for national liberation from the international terrain meant curtailing the fight against imperialism and prepared the way for a local petti bourgeoisie to act as the local agent of imperialism.

Trotsky's response to the Workers Party Thesis on South Africa was to counterpose the permanent revolution to the Stalinist 2-stage revolution: In other words he posed the 'black' republic as a form centred on the seizing of the land from the rich white landowners and the expropriation of imperialist assets, as a stage that would grow in an uninterrupted manner to a Soviet South Africa. While there is no longer a peasantry in South Africa, this thesis still argues that trotsky's conception of the permanent revolution in SA is still relevant: Today the essence of slave capitalist relations still exist a) the land is still in the hands of the rich white capitalist farmers, while the majority of the population is starving; b) slave-like conditions still exist for the majority of black people, such as low wages, living in separate ghettos, massively high unemployment,

widespread homelessness and lack of adequate services, black women suffer the highest unemployment, the lowest wages ; c) imperialism imposed conditions of safeguarding private property (the rule of the imperialist monopolies) as a pre-condition of any negotiated settlement); d) the provinces are largely along the lines of the Bantustans/ reserves of cheap labour; e) in the countries surrounding South Africa (and across Africa) there is still a sizeable peasantry. The thesis does not force or promote a separation of nations but guarantees that right to any groups of workers and poor peasants (not the bourgeois or petty bourgeoisie) who feel themselves a nation. The SA revolution cannot be seen as separate from the revolution in the rest of Africa, and even less as being separate from the revolution in the imperialist centres.



Soweto, 1976

After the second world imperialist war, this policy of support for the native petty-bourgeoisie continued and formed the basis of Pan Africanism, which Stalinism actively promoted across Africa. This was the chief ideological basis which Stalinism used to neutralise and sabotage the development of independent working class struggles from the leadership of the struggle for national liberation. Stalinism's policy took the form of armed parties posing as the left wing of the national liberation movements, on their programme of setting into power an indigenous bourgeoisie, to prevent the national liberation movements from overthrowing or expelling imperialism.

Imperialism's policy at Yalta and Potsdam led to in 1948 the creation of the 'apartheid' government in SA and the state of Israel, which was part of their strategy to contain and smash the rising anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist sentiment in the working class in the Middle east and in Southern Africa.

Castrism, through Che Guevara and later the Cuban army, continued this Stalinist policy in Africa, as a proxy force, in exchange for oil and other support from Moscow. Che Guevara was in the DRC at the time of there being 3 million mineworkers but instead of fighting for another Cuba in Africa, he gave support to the nationalist movements, on the programme of putting into power an indigenous bourgeoisie, and failed to build or promote an independent working class movement. When 40 000 Cuban troops, together with the Angolan army defeated the SA army at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola by March 1988 they failed to advance beyond the Namibian border. This was at a time of the height of the uprising of the working class in South Africa against the state. The Stalinist policy promoted the bourgeois nationalist Swapo to accept a negotiated settlement in Namibia that kept imperialist interests intact.

On an international scale the fake trotskyist left capitulated to Stalinism by supporting the Stalinist and maoist regimes of Zanu-PF, Frelimo, MPLA, Swapo, that were local agencies of imperialist control in Africa.

The unprincipled re-unification of the Fourth International in 1963, around only the defence of Cuba, opened that way for the fake trotskyists, on a world scale, usurping the revolutionary programmatic gains of the Fourth International, to provide a left cover to Castrism, as it betrayed and contained the revolutionary uprisings in Latin America and in Africa. The revolutionary uprisings in the imperialist centres in 1968-74 directly impacted in spurring the masses in Africa, once more to the path of

revolution. The revolution in Portugal in 1975, strangled by Stalinism, was also followed by strangling of the revolution in Angola and Mozambique by Stalinism. Side by side with the Stalinist MPLA regime in Angola, the oil enclave was left in the hands of US imperialism, while independent communist groups were slaughtered by Stalinism in Angola.

In Southern Africa, the fake trotskyist left (Marxist Workers Tendency, Socialist Group, Comrades for workers government, Workers International league- SA, International socialists) all capitulated to stalinism by entering or supporting the ANC in the 1994 elections. The IS tendency entered and supported a bourgeois popular front in Zimbabwe, and failed to maintain an independent working class policy and capitulated to the Stalinist national vision of the socialist revolution.

Thus, on a world scale and in Africa, the fake trotskyists played a major role in containing the revolutionary masses and in holding back the masses from overthrowing capitalism-imperialism in Africa.



5. Trotsky, in his letter of 20 April 1935 to the South African Workers' Party, described South Africa, after 1910, as being a slave colony of British imperialism. The establishment of Anglo American in the 1920's reflected the rise to world dominance of US imperialism. JP Morgan Chase, through Anglo American, today controls a massive part of the SA and African economy and maintains what is essentially slave capitalist relations there.

The 1968-74 uprisings in the imperialist centres once more impelled the independent workers movement to rise in South Africa; uprisings increased in depth from the 1973 Durban strikes, general strikes in 1976, student and worker uprisings in 1976 and 1980, the starting of independent worker formations from the start of the 1980's to the mass uprising from 1985 to 1989, where capitalist imperialist relations were shaken to their foundation and a pre-revolutionary situation existed. Slave capitalist relations were being shaken to their foundation and imperialism was at risk of losing everything.

Under these conditions Stalinism promoted a negotiated settlement between the petti bourgeois nationalists of the ANC and the (bourgeois and petti bourgeois) Afrikaner nationalists of the NP, from as far back as 1985, in order to defeat the revolution. Leading up to 1994, the SACP through Joe Slovo promoted the 'sunset' clauses which agreed to keep the state apparatus intact for 5 years after 1994, as part of the negotiated settlement. Imperialism imposed 14 conditions, including the protection of private property (imperialist assets) as a precondition to negotiations. The popular front regime set up in 1994 thus had a bonapartist character, to continue slave capitalist relations in another form. Under the guise of a democratic regime, and a bourgeois black republic, the ANC popular front became the agency for maintaining super-exploitative relations on the working class, not only in South Africa but across all of

sub-Saharan Africa. SA troops are stationed across sub-Saharan Africa as a primary means to protect imperialist operations. The attacks on the working class and poor peasants in Africa all follow from the Stalinist policy of placing the leadership of the struggle for democratic demands in the hands of a section of the black petti bourgeoisie. In 1995 the LIT-CI had the conception of support for a revolution led by the ANC popular front. Thus they and other fake trotskyists provided a left cover for capitulation to Stalinism and their policy of containing the masses from overthrowing imperialism.

South Africa became a laboratory for imperialism and they exported this counter-revolutionary regime of the bonapartist popular front to South America, to Bolivia, to Venezuela and now it takes shape in the form of the Obama figurehead. All along the fake trotskyists continued to provide a left cover for the new policy of imperialism, supporting Mandela, Morales, Chavez and now, Obama.

6. While US imperialism has set up Africom as a means to advance direct military control over the masses in Africa, setbacks such as their military defeat in Somalia and their invasion of Iraq, makes it difficult for them to advance their plans of direct military control, despite having military bases in Botswana and elsewhere in Africa. It is equally difficult for French imperialism to once again maintain direct military control, despite the presence of several military bases across Africa. The direct agent of military control by imperialism is the African Union. The comprador bourgeoisie in Africa are the direct agents of imperialism in Africa, of holding back the right of nations to self-determination, and thus they are direct agents of keeping the African masses in permanent hunger and starvation. The DRC has enough hydroelectricity to power the entire African continent, yet the power station is kept in shambles, a war is waged on

the people since 1996 (killing over 4 million people); Angola has soil so fertile, they can produce enough food for all of Africa; yet hunger, starvation, death, disease, unemployment, stalks most of Africa. Zimbabwe used to be able to feed millions across Africa, before their food production was destroyed by imperialism, thanks to their puppet Mugabe, and ably assisted by North Korean troops (1983-1984). The comprador bourgeoisie are the agents of keeping Africa as a primary exporter of minerals, cheap labour and raw materials (gold, diamonds and coltan for manufacturing the highest advances of modern technology like laptops, mp3 etc) for the imperialist centres and for its great maquila in China. This continuation of slave-like relations is the direct result of the Stalinist policy on Africa. The depth of imperialism's crisis, however forces them to establish the headquarters of Africom in Ghana, as a precursor to more direct military control over the masses in Africa.

7. To end imperialist domination and the slave-like capitalist relations in Africa, we call for a federation of 'black' workers' and poor peasants, socialist, republics, ('black' in that the proportion in the new state will reflect the predominant majority of the population and has nothing in common with the Stalinist policy of 'black economic empowerment' which is a means for the black petty bourgeois to be bought off by becoming part of the capitalist system and becoming the new agents to ensure the continuation of slave-like capitalist relations), that has as its centre to seizing of all commercial farms (of the rich, white farmers and the new black middle class), the expropriation of all imperialist assets, including all the mines and banks, and for them to be placed under working class control; (if the entire working class, irrespective of skin colour, is to eat, to have clothes, housing, water, this is the first task- it is in the interest of the entire working class ('black', 'white', 'coloured', 'indian') to unite for the working class to take power, setting up joint armed workers' and poor peasant councils of delegates to lead this fight); all the land is to be nationalised and model workers' collectives set up as a means to, over time, persuade poor peasantry, such as are still remaining and want to continue farming on their own, to join such collectives; to any group of workers and poor peasants that feel themselves a nation there must be the guarantee to separate into their own



Police repression in Zimbabwe

workers' and poor peasants socialist republic- this means that any new border, if any, that is set up in Africa is on the basis of mutual agreement by the central of workers and poor peasants councils- this is important to undercut and decisively end the fratricidal and inter-ethnic wars that imperialism encourages up to today- this does not mean that we will recognise any artificial tribal or ethnic group deliberately created by imperialism for the purpose of domination, such as in South Africa ; at the same time we call on our working class brothers and sisters in the imperialist centres to organise themselves to seize power to establish Soviet USA, Soviet England, Soviet France, Soviet Germany, Soviet Japan. Thus will open up an uninterrupted process from the Federation of workers' and poor peasants' republics of Africa to advance to a Soviet Africa.

8. The civil war in the United States between the north and south, freed the black masses from one form of slavery,

only to be chained to capitalist slavery. American capitalism was already in decay in that they could not even grant the land to the freed slaves that had been promised to them as this would have meant coming into direct competition with the existing white capitalist farms. At the same time the form of capitalist imperialist relations developing in Africa was also on the basis of changing from direct slavery to slave capitalist relations. The numerous struggles of the black workers over the years did not resolve the question of slave capitalist relations: the black workers participated in the 2 world imperialist wars and when they came back they were still subject to lynchings, oppression and super-exploitation; the 'civil right' struggles of the 1950's and 1960's resulted in some gains, but with the co-option of the middle class leaders, and the policy of Stalinism to place the anti-imperialist struggle in the hands of the black petty bourgeoisie, slave-like relations remained. The rise of a significant black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie did not end the capitalist slave-like conditions of the black workers. Slave-like capitalist relations in the United States exist as part of imperialist capitalist relations within the country. These slave-like capitalist relations are maintained by brute force by the state. This is why Mumia, an innocent ex-black Panther member, can be kept on death row for many years, falsely accused of killing a policeman; is it why Oscar Grant and many like him have been killed by the state; it is why 1 in 3 black males in the USA have been imprisoned at least once in their lives. The election of Obama does not represent the ending or weakening of slave-like capitalist relations for the US black worker- it provides a cover for the maintaining of such exploitative relations. We would not actively promote any divisions in the working class in the US; we would actively campaign for working class unity, but if a situation arises that a section of the black workers wanted to separate and form their own state within the United States we would support this as it would be a fight against imperialism. From our current understanding of the working class struggle in the United States today, the majority, if not all black workers in the United States would not be in favour of separation, but of a united struggle with other sections of the working class against the capitalist-imperialist class. The way to end slave-like relations in the United States is for the working class to unite to fight for a Soviet USA. This fight would assist the fight of the working class in Africa to end slave-like capitalism on the continent. Liberia represents a caricature of a 'black' republic as it is ruled by black petty bourgeoisie, who are themselves tied hand and foot to imperialism.

9. The restorationist bureaucracy are the direct agents of importing slave-like capitalist relations into Cuba.

Workers only earn \$18 per month and hunger and starvation rise as capitalist relations become entrenched. We call for a political revolution in Cuba against the restorationist castrist bureaucracy; a political revolution in Cuba is directly linked to the US working class breaking with Obama, as this regime is leading the capitalist restoration in Cuba; a Soviet Cuba is interdependent on the fight for a Soviet USA and a Soviet Latin America. (the reformist left are the main agents of supporting Obama, Castro and the 'Bolivarian' regimes in Latin America as a means to contain the revolution of the working class- the exposure of the real role of these reformists opens the path once again to Socialist revolution)

10. Slave-like capitalist relations still exist in Brazil and the Caribbean for the black working class. We would not promote separation or encourage it, especially as imperialism would want to divide the working class on ethnic and colour lines. Within a semi-colony, the separation of a section of workers and poor peasants into their own state would weaken the anti-imperialist fight and any call for such separation would play into the hands of imperialism. The reformist left in Brazil contain the anger of the masses against the slave relations by channelling it into policies of positive affirmation (or Black economic empowerment), which opens the way for a section of the black middle class to become part of the capitalist system. Slave-like capitalist relations exist in the whole of Latin America. To end slave-like capitalist relations means seizing the commercial farms of the rich white farmers; it would mean expropriating all imperialist assets and placing them under working class control; the fight for a federation of workers' and poor peasants republics of Latin America is directly linked to the fight for Soviet USA and Soviet France. In this way the workers and poor peasants republics of Latin America grows directly, in an uninterrupted fashion to a United Soviet states of all-America.

11. In each country where slave-like capitalist relations exist, as well as in the imperialist centres it is our immediate task to set up sections of a revolutionary International, rebuilding/refounding on the basis of the 1938 programme of the Fourth International. For this to occur, means a political combat and exposure of the reformist left, who bow down to Castrism, Stalinism, the Bolivarian bourgeoisie, and the Obama mask. This is the task of the FLTI and we call all working class fighters to answer our call.

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE ILTF

The differences between the WIVL position and the rest of the FLTI

What is the essential difference between the FLTI draft thesis and the WIVL extended political committee position: the draft FLTI thesis poses the demand for a 'black' workers and poor peasants' socialist republic as a means to get the masses into motion to break from the Popular front and to expose its collaboration with imperialism.

The WIVL position is as follows:

1. The word 'black' is used by the black bourgeois and middle class as a cover for their incorporation into the capitalist system, gaining privileges as part of the elite and their collaboration with the capitalists; the word 'black' is used to blur the class lines to cover the betrayal by the bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists of the working class struggle against capitalism-imperialism. The class divisions among the indigenous masses in Africa has become much greatly entrenched today- there is a significant black bourgeoisie in all countries in Africa, as oppose to the time of Trotsky. The same is true of the United States.

2. The sub-division of the tribes in Africa are not based on colour but are remnants of pre-capitalist forms that are deliberately maintained and perpetuated by imperialism. Thus a call for a right to separate opens the path for imperialism to divide the working class on ethnic and tribal grounds and thereby weaken the struggle against it; it is not a question as in Russia of a chauvinist white Russia oppressing and subjugating other nations but of imperialism using various means including the army from South Africa to protect its interests. Thus it is not a question of the South African 'nation' being an oppressor nation in Africa. Thus our propaganda should include the slogan: down with tribal divisions!

3. The description 'black' raises further potential for divisions as is currently happening as some workers feel they are not 'black' enough and feel alienated from their class brothers and sisters. Indian workers came to Africa

as slaves; so the slogan 'black' divides workers from each other as the former Indian slaves, many of them are also living in ghettos, in shacks, on pavements, etc.

4. There is also the history of the Stalinist 4 nation thesis in South Africa (white, black, coloured, Indian) that has been used to detrimental effect in dividing the working class; the use of the term 'black' would undermine the years of work to counter this slogan and to unite the working class. The slogan 'black' workers republic would be a death blow to workers' unity in Africa.

5. The call, for example, for a 'black' workers and peasants republic of Zimbabwe, pushes its struggle onto the national terrain, instead of opening up the struggle on the international terrain.



6. Our method should be starting from what the current reality in Africa is, from the concrete conditions and then developing a slogan from there, not just using slogans formalistically. It might not always be able to capture the programme in one slogan but in several. WIVL believes that industrialization has already broken down tribal barriers to the unification of the urban and rural working class in South Africa, and that continued direct

exposure of the Popular front and call for united mass action around democratic demands, such as land, slave-like wage conditions, is sufficient. Thus our proposed slogans are: **for a workers republic of South Africa; for a federation of Workers and poor peasants republics of Africa; for a United Socialist states of Africa.**

Comments on draft Thesis 08-09-2009

Comments on draft Thesis (SCI of the ILTF)

08-09-2009

Dear comrades of WIVL,

We have studied the draft resolution on South Africa you sent us, which we adopted in the ILTF Congress.

We think they are very well expressed not only the resolutions, but also the discussions that were left open in the first Congress of the ILTF about the use of the slogan «black workers and peasants socialist republic» or «workers and peasants socialist republic», and, as we agreed, we will continue discussion them towards the second Congress of the ILTF.

But the reason of this letter is to give you a consideration. While reading the draft of the resolutions you sent us we stopped in the term that is written in the document to define the exploitation conditions that the working class suffers all across Africa: «slave-capitalist».

So we committed to study this formulation by WIVL and we reached the conclusion that we agree on its essence, that is to say, with the contempt you give to such definition; since we see that this formulations wants to define that the African proletariat suffers the capitalist barbarian exploitation conditions, i.e., inhuman working rhythms, overexploitation, in real concentration camps, without any single minimum right, under a semi fascist or fascist regime, which has nothing to envy to the conditions imposed to the working class under Hitler Nazi Germany.

We understand that the definition given by WIVL points that the working class in Africa is a victim of the conditions

of overexploitation, identical to the ones that suffer the Chinese workers in the restorationist regime, that are producing in maquilas, real jails, in their bare feet, chained to the machine and sleeping in cages; identical to the ones that the working class in Gaza has, who is under the aim of the Zionist machineguns; what else is what the exploited in Zimbabwe live every day, with an unemployment of near 90% and the highest inflation of the whole world, for example.

However, comrades, we believe that in the Marxists definitions we have to be as precise as possible. To define the exploitation conditions as «slave capitalist» we are in danger of confusing, since we know that *slavery* was a specific production mode, with its specific classes and political organization. Even the current capitalist mode of production is worse than the *slavery*, since, unlike today, under that regime the oppressed classes had what to eat at least.

Therefore we want to propose you –since we agree on the essence of your definition, we just have a difference on the formulation- that the resolutions should be published as they were presented by you, but with the letters of HRS, CWG and ours which state the reservations on the definition of «slave capitalism».

A STRONG HUG, LS, AV Y JOA

FOR THE SCI OF THE FLTI.

Comments from CWG

Comrades, we got the latest draft SA these last night and I have forwarded it to the CWG comrades. We have some concerns I would like to raise informally to let you know current CWG thinking.

We assume the purpose of the draft theses are to arrive at a founding document of the FLTI in South Africa and that we must give full consideration to all of its aspects. That is, it is not in the same category as the Congress resolutions that bind us until the next Congress. That is why we have taken our time to study and discuss it and havnt come up with amendments yet.

(1) Starting with the least important question first. As you know, CWG does not agree with the use of the concept of 'fascism' in a colonial or semi-colonial context unless this is spelled out precisely and qualified as 'semi-fascism' or some such term. We do not agree that the Zionist regime created by means of a colonial war and occupation in 1948

is «fascist». Therefore we would like to see a further discussion and elaboration of the use of this term in the SA context.

(2) More importantly, CWG has been discussing the concept of 'slave-capitalist' relations since Congress and our members have been reading up about this and drafting notes. Our concern is that there is no real attempt to define this term in the document. The implication is that pre-capitalist social relations have been kept alive by semi-colonial capitalism in SA so that therefore the social relations are based on the articulation of pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. Yet the cdes argue that there is virtually no peasantry as the masses are proletarianised and that divisions in the proletariat along race or tribal lines are artificially fomented by capitalism. But instead of any analysis along these lines, or indeed any critique of Trotskyist attempts at class analysis in SA, the term «slave» is used in a more descriptive way, to

mean wage workers living in slave-like condition which implies a distributional level of analysis rather than that of relations of production. We think that this is a major theoretical question of class analysis that needs more time to study and discuss.

Further, without a clear historical analysis to justify the use of this term, we find its application to the US today somewhat alarming. We have historically taken the position that the major division in the US working class is largely racist and carries over from slavery, but that the theoretical concept that is applicable to explain this at the distributional level is the reserve army of labor and not a hybrid form of production relations i.e. 'slave-capitalist' relations.

(3) Reading the WIVL position on the use of the term «black» socialist republic, I think that the CWG needs more

time to consider this also. As I remember from the discussion at Congress, the use of the term was proposed to expose the ANC Stalinist use of the term «black» to co-opt workers into the popular front and «black majority rule» etc. I think the WIVL comrades put forward very serious arguments as to why this term can backfire and be perceived by workers as divisive, so this we need to study further.

Anyway comrades, these are our concerns, and we need more time to discuss them and write any proposed amendments. We hope that this is acceptable to the comrades.

a hug to everyone

DB AND AS (FOR CWG)

Comments on the draft theses on Africa (HWRS)

1. The theses are strong on the history of imperialism in Africa, the betrayals of Stalinism and the capitulations of the fake-Trotskyists. But they are weak in explaining the present situation. For example, the consciousness of the working class in South Africa, not just in relations to the disputed word «black», but also for example, how much illusions there are still in the ANC and the Stalinists. Is there an emerging vanguard that want to break from the ANC and Stalinism and fight all the way for Socialism (such vanguard does not of course have the full consciousness of revolutionary Trotskyism but rather left centrist conciseness). As well as what are the tactics of WIVL at the present to break the working class from the popular front. I think that such rising consciousness is expressed in the escalating class struggle in South Africa, and we need better understanding of the developing advances and contradictions in the struggles.

2. I agree with the criticism of D.(CWG) and others on the slave capitalist relations, so I will not repeat them.

3. The theses are wrong about a revolution in Palestine in 1948. There were uprisings by the Palestinian workers in the 1930's. The uprisings were smashed by fascistic and nationalist Zionist gangs in coordination with the British army. By 1948 when the state of Israel was established, the Palestinians did not recover from the defeats. They were without a leadership and without weapons to fight the Zionists. The Zionists who were armed to the teeth by American imperialism were able to defeat the armless Palestinians. The Zionist army run through the villages and massacred thousands of armless Palestinians. The survivors were «lucky» to become refugees. The Zionists made agreements with the rotten Arab regimes. They made

an agreement, for example, with the king of Jordan to divide Jerusalem and let him have the West Bank (an agreement that they did not keep in the next war of course). Other agreements were made with Egypt and imperialism that curved out the Zionist state of 1948. The point is that in 1948 there was no Palestinian revolution, it is a fabrication that the Zionist advanced to justify their genocide against the Palestinians.

4. The theses do not explain why the regime in South Africa is Bonapartist. Every bourgeois «democracy» have strong elements of bonapartism if by bonapartism we mean repression. I do not want to get in here into a precise definition of Bonapartism. If there are differences about it, I will be happy to go into this. I just want to say for now that one of the defining features of Bonapartism (right and left bonapartism) is its fierce opposition of any attempt of the workers to organize themselves independently from the regime. The oppression under Bonapartism is much stronger than it is under a «normal» bourgeois democracy. Does WIVL says that this was the nature of the regime from the beginning (1994), or this is the regime's direction now? In my opinion it is too mechanical and simplistic to say that imperialism exported the bonapartism (if that's the nature of the regime) of the ANC directly into South America by creating similar Bolivarian regimes. And Obama is not a figurehead Bonaparte of all the different bonapartist regimes in the world a(although all the presidents of the US have certain Bonapartist power). He is rather the imperialist boss of all the type of regimes in the semi-colonies (fascist, bonapartist, «democracy», etc.)

Revolutionary Greetings,

Dov (HWRS)

What is slave capitalism? [by WIVL]

1. The rise of capitalism in Africa coincided with the onset of the epoch of imperialist decay; this meant that whereas in Germany, for example, slave relations were replaced with capitalist relations, in Africa, the remnants of slavery became part of the super-exploitative conditions for the African proletariat; it is out of an attempt to describe these super-exploitative conditions that we had to come up with a precise description of what the relations were and what are the tasks that were concomitant with this;

2. To say that the conditions of super-exploitation that persist from the onset of capitalism in Africa is merely wage slavery, is not precise enough; to describe it only as wage-slavery disarms us from the uncompleted democratic tasks that are a burning part of day to day struggles across Africa;

3. We also need to counter-pose our definition to the stalinist term 'apartheid', which is an Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness'. The SACP and ANC deliberately coined this term to summarise their vision of bourgeois democratic revolution, namely that its main aim is to fight for the incorporation of the black middle class and bourgeoisie into the capitalist system (because they had been excluded by the National Party). What flows from this is their perspective of black economic empowerment, affirmative action, etc. It is why imperialism funded the United Democratic Front (UDF) whose main slogan was: 'apartheid divides, UDF unites'. This was to channel the resistance of the working class into a capitalist channel and rescue their system that was under threat of revolution in SA in the 1980's.

4. Slavery, like capitalism, is not only an economic description but has to be seen in its socio-economic-political essence. So what aspects of slavery remained and were codified in South Africa?

a) There were restrictions on competition - many occupations were just not open to black workers (skilled jobs on the mines; post office work, except cleaning; many clerical jobs; drivers; artisanal occupations; in general skilled work). This of course meant that there was intensified competition for unskilled work, which drove down wages even more. Thus the black worker was not free to sell his/her labour power in open competition. On farms, many workers were virtual 'possessions' of the white farmer, eking out an existence for generations 'belonging' to the same farmer (not having the right to own even the plot they were living on). When Engels talks about some slaves being better off than the proletariat, he is no doubt talking of the exception, not the rule. We could thus say that in general, the conditions of an unfree black worker would be worse (and in fact were) than that of the 'free' proletariat who had not been so 'enslaved'. Black people were not

allowed to trade, nor open up a business, nor own a house. For decades the black 'garden boys' (gardeners) and 'kitchen girls' (domestic workers) were virtual possessions of white people, being handed down from generation to generation (the son taking over from the father, the daughter taking over from the mother). Black people could not get bank loans, etc.

b) on a social level there was no freedom of movement, no freedom to settle in any area; no freedom to attend the school of their choice; no freedom to study in tertiary institutions (only limited access was granted). black people were regarded as 'things', not as members of society, black people could be killed, especially on the farms, with impunity. Many clubs and societies excluded black people. Black people were not allowed to go to the same beaches, etc etc.

c) on a political level there was no right to vote or participate in any parliamentary process. no right to belong to a union that was covered by legislation. In Zimbabwe, and across Africa, besides super-exploitative conditions persisting, the right to vote was linked to those who owned property.

5. Across Africa, the failure of the working class to take power in any country, meant that none of the bourgeois democratic demands, as listed in point 4 above, could be overcome. In fact imperialism capitalism thrives on their maintenance. Imperialism has drawn the lesson from the Russian revolution and from the 2 world imperialist wars that industrialisation and urbanization creates conditions for revolution.

6. In SA and across Africa, limited political freedoms now exist; thus it would be imprecise to still use the term 'slave-capitalist' to describe such relations as they different to the period before. On the other hand, only the working class taking power can complete the bourgeois democratic demands, thus opening up a period of the permanent revolution, directly going over to socialist tasks. For want of a better term, we describe the remnants of slave capitalist relations as still 'slave-like'. If anyone can come up with a better formulation on any of the above, we are open to that.

7. Further, we do not describe any country in Africa as an ex-colony, or what is described as the 'third world' - these terms hide the current relations of being dominated by imperialism capitalism. This is why we describe these countries as being neo-colonies (on the surface, politically free to some extent, but economically, politically and socially still in chains).

More than 3 months have passed from the pro-Yankee coup in Honduras, the masses keep resisting and put their martyrs, while the coward of Zelaya returns to Honduras by the hand of Lula, servant of French imperialism, to try to force the pact with the coupists and prevent the revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship.

Honduras: The coup must be smashed!

This is a coup of the "Republicrats" and the bomber Obama, the officers' caste, Micheleti, parliament, the transnationals and the church.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE OF THE ARMED WORKERS AND PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS COMMITTEES TO SMASH THE COUP, THE OFFICERS CASTE AND TO DESTROY THE US MILITARY BASE IN HONDURAS!

THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS MUST BREAK WITH THE LABOR BUREAUCRACY THE BOLIVARIAN BOURGEOISIE AND RISE UP TO SMASH THE COUP IN HONDURAS AND CONFRONT THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE IN LATIN AMERICA!



It is more than three months since US imperialism and the transnationals under the command of the general staff and the US base in Honduras, in collusion with parliament and the church launched the military coup. During this time the Honduran masses have put up a heroic resistance to the military jackboot suffering many dead and wounded on the barricades to fight the imposition of this pro-imperialist dictatorship. Long live the Honduran working class and exploited masses' resistance to the coup and imperialism!

The mass resistance exposes the hypocrisy of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie. Zelaya returned to Honduras supported by French imperialism to take refuge in Brazilian embassy while he negotiated with the coup makers. The US, Micheleti and the military chiefs label Zelaya's attempts to deal with the coup regime "clownish". The US has profited from the counter-revolutionary deals in Bolivia between Morales and fascism, and between Chavez and Uribe as a result of its military attacks on the Colombian resistance. The Republicrat regime of Obama, behind its democratic mask, is preparing to launch more coups and attacks as part of a counterrevolutionary offensive against the masses in Latin America to re-assert control of its traditional sphere of interest against its rivals like France.

It is the counterrevolutionary pacts of the Bolivarian bourgeoisies with imperialism to contain, divert and strangle the Latin American revolution, that have created the current conditions for the US offensive. Today the US is not satisfied with such pacts and wants to intervene directly. So Zelaya's attempts to negotiate a return to office are being rejected. Today the US is building more military bases in Colombia, is forcing the militarization of Mexico under the pretext of a war on drugs, and attacking workers like at Kraft in Argentina where the plant has been militarized to defeat the workers resistance. The US imperialists, in the middle of the economic crisis, must restore its profit rate by making the working class and its imperialist rivals pay for the crisis.

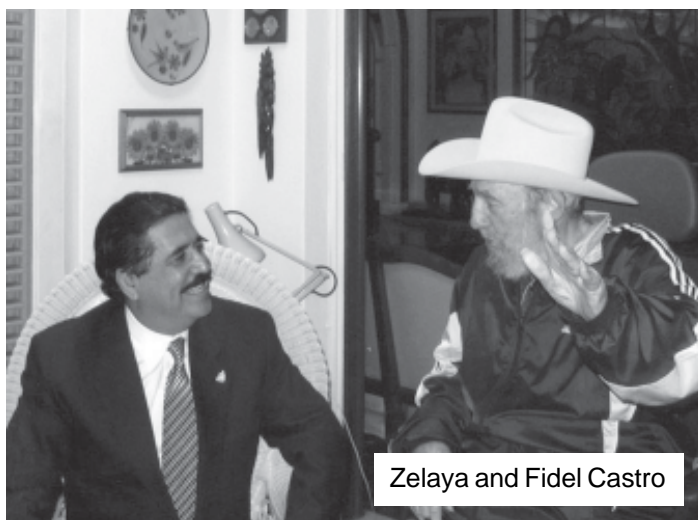
For the moment the barricades of Greece are down, the factory occupations with the bosses taken as hostages in France have ceased, as have the young workers revolts in the cities. The imperialists have been able to contain the revolution in Madagascar and the mass uprisings in Guadeloupe and Martinique. And the labor bureaucracies and their reformist parties have played their critical role in stopping the world's workers responding to the imperialist crisis with a fight for socialist revolution. On the basis of

this containment of the world revolution US imperialism launches its offensive.

And if imperialism defeats the heroic resistance in Honduras, without doubt, the fascist Media Luna will rise up again to try to smash the Bolivian workers and peasants; the reaction in Venezuela will take to the streets again; the Chilean Pinochetist regime will strengthen its repression against the workers and youth vanguard. Under these conditions, imperialism will stronger to collaborate with the Castroist bureaucracy to restore capitalism Cuba.

The pro-imperialist dictatorship of Micheleti continues to attack the heroic Honduran resistance. Meanwhile Chavez, Correa, Lula, Evo Morales and the Castro brothers

publish their "statements condemning the coup" but do all in their power to stop the masses from overthrowing the coup in the streets. They know that if the masses overthrow the coup in Honduras it will open the road to the revolutionary mass struggle in Latin America and that the days of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie will be numbered. While the treacherous leaders of the workers and poor peasants impose the policy of Zelaya and the



Zelaya and Fidel Castro

Bolivarian bourgeoisie more heroic Honduran workers and poor peasants will be killed by the coup regime.

The Bolivarian bourgeoisie know that the working class leading the poor peasants and fighting for the proletarian revolution can win their democratic demands and defeat the pro-imperialist dictatorship. To prevent this, the hypocrite Zelaya has returned to Honduras supported by the UN, UNASUR, the Bolivarian bourgeoisies and all the reformist leaderships of the Latin American proletariat.

The workers organisations in the National Resistance Coordination Committee have to break now with the sell-out politics of the Zelayist bourgeoisie.

Smash the coup! For a Revolutionary General Strike!

Armed Workers, Rural Workers and peasants Committees to confront and defeat the coup in the streets!

Armed workers and peasants: Let's march to the barracks and call on the soldiers, sons of the workers and peasants, to destroy the officers caste, set up soldiers committees and supply arms to the workers and peasants committees and to create a workers and peasant militia to smash the coup!

Armed workers and poor peasants: Dissolve the parliament and the supreme court of the coups!

March to the US military base to defeat and kick out the US military that occupies and murders the masses in Latin-America, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan!

Let's strike US imperialism, which prepares and funds the coup, where it hurts them most:

expropriation without compensation and under workers control, Dole, Chiquita Brand and all transnationals that own the Maquila and the gold and silver mines!

Down with CAFTA which ties with 3 chains all nations to imperialism!

Obama Hands Off Honduras and out with the murderous regime of the "Republicrats", the UN, and ASO and other institutions of bloody imperialism! No pact with the coup regime!

Let's smash the coup with the method of the proletariat revolution to open the road to a democratic government of the workers, the only one that can break with the imperialism and guarantee national independence, and a Workers and Peasants government that a United Socialist States of Central America and Caribbean.

The Latin-America working class and their organizations have to break their submission to the bourgeoisie and rise up to smash the military coup in Honduras!

For a continental day of struggle of the proletariat to smash the coup in Honduras and defeat the imperialist offensive!

In Honduras, the fate of the masses facing the direct attacks of the new US imperialist offensive is being decided. To smash the pro-imperialist coup is the main task of all exploited people of the continent. It has been shown that Zelaya and the Bolivarian bourgeoisie have not interest in confronting imperialism because they are unified as a class by thousands of business ties. **Like all national bourgeoisies it is more afraid of the workers revolution which would expropriate their capitalist property than of the imperialist military even when such interventions are aimed at themselves.**

Thus, the only class that can defeat the coup is the working class, leading all exploited and the oppressed peoples, breaking completely with the "left bourgeoisie" in particular the 'Bolivarian bourgeoisie', and going all the way to the defeat of imperialism. This is the task for all workers of the American continent.

In the US the ILWU and the Million Workers March organisation must prevent any arms leaving the US to be

used to reinforce the base in Honduras and attack the workers and poor peasants. Break with Obama and the Republicrats! In Bolivia the working class led by the COB must break with Morales and win the streets organizing the workers and peasant militia to smash the fascists of the Medial Luna the allies of imperialism and the coup

makers of Honduras. The workers and peasants of Peru must return to the barricades and confront the transnationals! In Mexico workers and peasant must revive the commune in Oaxaca and in the whole of Mexico take to the streets! The exploited masses of Argentina under attack by the imperialists have to take to the streets and defeat the bosses of Kraft-Terrabusi the allies of the coup makers of Honduras. The exploited of Guadalupe and



Martinique will rise again to face French imperialist colonialism! So while US imperialism wants to use the Honduras coup as the beachhead of its counterrevolutionary offensive in the region, the united workers and peasants of the Americas must mobilise and defeat the coup as the necessary fight to open the road to the socialist revolution in the continent.

The mass base of all the organisations of ELAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean) must take up the demand that it convenes immediately. ELAC represents the mass workers organisations led by the IWL-FI (LIT-CI) from CONLUTAS of Brazil, the UNT of Venezuela, the Central Obrera of Haiti and COB of Bolivia. With the worker base of such union federation, ELAC has the forces to mobilise a continental day of struggle to smash the military coup in Honduras. **A day of action of the whole Americas would break with the bourgeoisie, unite with a general strike in Central America and strike action of the North America proletariat to smash the Honduras coup.** Such a continental mobilisation would prove that it is necessary to organised armed pickets, expropriate the property of imperialism, and to organise workers brigades to go to Honduras to join the resistance in the same way as international brigades fought in the Spanish civil war in the 1930s. Because the IWL-FI has not mobilised ELAC this proves that it is acting as the left wing of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie.

The Latin-American working class must break with the bourgeoisie and mobilise the forces to smash the coup in Honduras and so confront the imperialist offensive in the entire continent. The fate of the workers in Latin-America depends on smashing the coup. The FLTI forces are at the service of this strategy.

IWL-FI doesn't convene ELAC because it is the servant of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie

IWL-FI (which leads ELAC and controls Conlutas in Brazil (PSTU)) refuses to convene ELAC 3 months after the military coup in Honduras. They refuse to unite workers organizations like COB (Bolivia), the ILWU dock workers (USA), Bataille Obreire (Haiti), UNT (Venezuela) and others to mobilise the workers of the American continent. Clearly the IWL-FI policy is to submit the workers organizations to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie. Therefore this current opposes a revolutionary strategy to smash the military coup in Honduras with proletarian revolutionary methods.

First of all, the class collaboration politics of ELAC's leadership was used to support COB leadership headed by Montes, by dressing him up as an "internationalist trotskyist", so that he could keep the rank and file of the COB submitted to Evo Morales' government. A few months after ELAC was founded, the fascists massacred workers and peasants in the Media Luna. The IWL-FI refused to convert ELAC to unite the vanguard of the Latin American proletariat in the struggle against fascism.

The IWL-FI made a statement on the coup in Honduras on 24 September 09 which exposes its total reformism and servility, not only to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie but also to imperialism itself. It states: "... we must draw conclusions from both: these months of struggle when disarmed mobilizations challenged the army and special forces. Coup makers cannot be defeated by "peaceful means": it is like trying to fight with one hand tied to your back and defeat somebody who is wielding a knife and a gun. The contrary is true: apart from heroism, which Honduran masses have proved to have plenty of, it is necessary to prepare self-defense of the mobilizations and strikes and an action to divide and weaken the "military front" of the coup makers, urging the soldiers and the policemen to disobey the repressive orders of the Micheletti administration." It is clear that IWL-FI does not call for the formation of workers militias, armed committee of workers and soldiers to destroy the officers' caste and defeat the police in the streets. Further, IWL-FI calls on the police to disobey the orders of the Micheletti government. To make this policy appear revolutionary, it says that the coup cannot be defeated by "peaceful means", yet it can be defeated by the "democratic bourgeoisie".

The IWL-FI talks about calling a "Sovereign Constituent Assembly" where the Honduran masses will discuss how to "destroy the reactionary institutions". In other words, they put their trust a bourgeois Constituent Assembly to take the power as a power masking the fact that only the working class seizing power can implement all the democratic demands of the Hondurans masses. Thus, IWL-FI reduces the resistance to putting pressure on the bourgeois Constituent Assembly to get those demands "according to bourgeois law". Thus the

Honduran masses are being subordinated to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. The IWL-FI supports this policy in the workers' organizations it leads in Latin America, and that is why it is against mobilising ELAC right now.

But IWL-FI is not only subservient to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie, it is also the servant of the UN. On the 10 April 2009 Conlutas, together with "people's organizations", sent an "Open Letter to UN Security Council for Haiti" complaining of "... the sad part played by United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti there." The letter then called on the workers organizations of the world to put pressure on the UN covering the fact that this club of imperialist murderers can suddenly stop playing its counterrevolutionary role. They say: "We know that UN Security Council on October 15th 2009 will vote for or against the renewal of MINUSTRAH's mandate. Therefore the undersigned declare ourselves for the immediate withdrawal of Brazilian troops of MINUSTRAH and Haitian territory. At the same time we demand that the UN ends the occupation and violation of Haiti people's rights." The IWL-FI is a shameless fraud to the world proletariat. I cannot point to any letter of Lenin or Trotsky demanding that the imperialists stop their wars and stop oppressing the people of the world.

This same policy of putting pressure on the bourgeoisie and its institutions was used in 2007 when they travelled from Spain to Palestine to demand that the bloody Zapatero government provides "humanitarian aid to the Palestine people". During the imperialist invasion to Iraq they called for "Peace and UN intervention". Pressuring the bourgeoisie is its normal politics. The Bolivian workers were killed by the fascists Media Luna, protected by Morales government. At the same time in July 2008 the Huanuni miners were attacked and two were killed by the state forces as they blocked roads to protest for retirement pensions. In the light of these events, the PSTU-IWL (CI) sent long letters to Evo Morales' government saying that "it was a mistake to repress the miners".

The IWL-FI is the largest renegade Trotskyist organisation that provides the left cover for the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and "democratic imperialism". They impose the bourgeois democratic front or popular front that ties the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. They recycle the old Stalinist policy of "revolution in stages" that has cost the world proletariat many bloody defeats. Principled Trotskyists must regroup the international forces of the revolutionaries against this popular front strategy and policy to expose and defeat the reformists. The internationalist Trotskyists are standing up to give the proletariat again its historical leadership, i.e. as refounded 1938 IV International.

SCI OCTOBER 10 2009

To solve THEIR CRISIS in favour of us imperialists and their business in argentina,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE US EMBASSY AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE BOURGEOISIE

Kraft launched a decisive attack against Terrabusi workers and the entire working class

Disguised as Obama, US imperialism seeks to regain terrain in Latin America.

In the last period of the Bush government, US imperialism lost part of their business in Latin America to rival imperialist powers like Spain, Japan, and especially, France, who acted in partnership with the "bolivarian" bourgeoisies. These native bourgeoisies emerged due to their expropriation of the revolutionary processes of Latin America in the first decade of the XXI century.

Under these conditions, the different imperialist powers started challenging US imperialism in its "backyard", taking advantage that it had concentrated most of its forces to conquer the oil routes, waging war in Iraq and Afghanistan and massacring the Palestinian masses. This

counterrevolutionary offensive allowed US imperialism to revalue its capital with wars and imposing generalized maquilas (sweatshops) on the whole planet- China being the major example of this- where it has re-located its companies. In that way US imperialism get super profits like the 150.000 million dollars gained by the oil company, Exxon, in a year. Thus, US imperialism temporarily came out of its crisis of the period 1997-2003.

While US imperialism concentrated its forces in the Middle East, the revolutionary blows of the masses of Ecuador, Argentina, and Bolivia and then of Chile and Peru at the beginning of the XXI century, stopped its golden plans of FTAs (Free Trade Agreements) with which US imperialism sought keeping a total domination over its "backyard".

This resistance of the masses to US imperialism's plans in the region was used by the native bourgeoisies for their own sake —supported by the counterrevolutionary

action of the WSF(World Social Forum) led by the bolivarians and castrist bureaucracies- expropriating the huge anti-imperialist revolutionary process of the Latin American masses. These revolutionary processes were even expressed within the heart of the US imperialist beast, with huge mobilisations of the US working class against the wars and with the struggle of Latin American immigrants against their plans for greater exploitation.

Taking advantage of this and using and expropriating the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the masses, a pact between the competitor imperialist powers(led by France) and the native bourgeoisies



emerged that agitated openly under the slogan "business for everybody and everybody against everybody". This alliance between European imperialist powers and bolivarian bourgeoisies also took advantage of the fact that the General Staff of the US butchers —commanded by Bush— went into a huge crisis resulting from their troops being stuck in the Middle East because of the heroic resistance of the masses of Iraq and other areas. Each day bodies were sent back home in black bags. Thus, while the owner of the house was solving its governmental crisis, this alliance of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and European imperialism started challenging US imperialism in their own "backyard".

But due to the blows of the world economic crisis, the Wall Street bubble burst (the end of the virtuous cycle of finance capital that obtained super profits from the housing bubble, with the skyrocketing increases in oil and commodities prices, was the trigger of the crisis of the

super banks that exploded as capital ran away from productive processes, they created fictitious values, parasitizing on human labour that has not even been expended) US imperialism, now disguised as Obama, is obliged to increasingly contest, for the control of all the branches of production on a world scale, through its trusts, cartels, and its parasitic finance capital. They need to come back to contest the zones of influence and markets that they had recently lost and in doing so, it is of fundamental importance for them to regain total domination of its "backyard". We repeat, in the middle of the world economic crisis, US imperialism cannot be satisfied only by placing a limit on its imperialist rivals influence, such as limits imposed by counterrevolutionary offensives like the massacre of the Colombian resistance and FARC leadership and the fascist uprising of Media Luna in Bolivia that assassinated hundreds of workers and peasants. Now their planned offensive is to discipline the native bourgeoisies and regain their lost business.

If previously, the mechanism of counterrevolutionary pacts allowed US imperialism to place limits -by means of bombs- on their competitors, in defence of their business in Latin America, this time, behind the mask of "peace and liberty" of the gang leaders Obama-Clinton, US imperialism comes back to Latin America with new counterrevolutionary blows like the coup in Honduras, like the total militarization of Mexico-under the excuse of combating drug trafficking- and the establishment of 7 military bases in Colombia. Mexico is in ruins today due to its submission to US imperialism via the FTA. In this way, they are preparing to regain the business that their imperialist rivals have taken away from them; their offensive also seeks to smash the masses and root out all attempts at resistance against their attacks to prevent them becoming revolutionary actions, and in this way, they want to establish the basis to complete the process of the restoration of capitalism in Cuba, together with the castrist bureaucracy.

On the other hand, this US imperialist offensive intensifies the inter-imperialist rivalry in Latin America. One example of this is the establishment of 7 military bases in Colombia and the sale of weapons to the armies of their lackeys on the continent. Meanwhile, Brazil makes business with French imperialism of 35 billion dollars, incorporating the latest technology in industrial-military apparatus, buying 5 ships and submarines, one of them nuclear, to guard the oil recently discovered in its coasts, oil they plan to extract together with their allies of Totalfina

together with Repsol (French and Spain oil companies respectively).

But the main thing that US imperialism has to show is that it is able to spearhead the defeat of the anti-imperialist and combatant masses of Latin America, who have proved, during almost a decade, to be able to resist and advance against the offensive of imperialist oppression over our people and oppressed nations. For that reason, the whole workers movement must know the dimensions of the brutal attack of Kraft- the second biggest food company on the planet- that is, this counterrevolutionary US blow, applauded and supported by all the bourgeois fractions that plunder the Argentine nation, is part of the new imperialist offensive that seeks- in the middle of a brutal economic crisis- to regain its backyard and locate Argentina decisively under its absolute control (aegis) in the next period.

US imperialism needs to regain the total domination of its "backyard", its monopolies and finance capital needs to get control of the main branches of production of the world economy; this pushes Kraft towards a DECISIVE attack AGAINST the workers.



The blow given to the workers by the Kraft-Foods imperialist

monopoly on September 25th is part of this US imperialist offensive. The Kraft workers had occupied the factory for 40 days to defend their jobs. The core leadership of the plant were dismissed and production has re-commenced under armed guard of the police. The US imperialist offensive is shown by the words of Warren Buffet, the biggest shareholder of Kraft, in his annual letter to the parasite shareholders where he claimed that *"If in America there is a class war, my class is clearly winning"*.

In this way this murderous commander of the Kraft bosses, Warren Buffet, boasts, hoping that the share price of his company will rise on Wall Street so that they can improve their bargaining position in their attempt to take over British-owned Cadbury and in this way to challenge, as a US transnational, for greater control of the branch of production of sweets and food against the Swiss-based Nestlé, the current world leader in this sector.

In order to come out of its crisis- where capitalists have used what human labour has not even produced yet and

now the masses have to pay for it with hunger, unemployment and slavery- one of the ways out the US imperialist parasites have—apart from wars, the sale of weapons, the continuation of the biggest, murderous army on the planet, with a budget of 600.000 million dollars per year- is to concentrate production in the hands of US-controlled monopolies while suppressing the monopolies that belong to other imperialist powers on a world scale.

Today we see how shameless are the chairmen of these companies that only a year ago were frightened when their managers were taken as hostages by French workers when a branch was closed, or when in Greece the Athens barricades were burning, or when the general strike in Belgium or the masses uprising in Eastern Europe hit them or, when Guadalupe and Martinique were burning, or when the revolutionary uprising of Madagascar in Africa, and in the deep Amazonian regions of Peru the workers and peasants rose up en masse.

Today, Warren Buffet and other chairmen of the transnationals can regain their faith in themselves because the masses were diverted, moved backward and betrayed by the action of the reformist leaderships recruited by big capital all around the world in 2008. These events gave a glimpse of the proletariat's disposition to make the bourgeoisie pay for their own crisis.

After recruiting the union bureaucracies and reformist leaderships at a worldwide level so that they survived the revolutionary mass offensive, now the imperialist gangs launch brutal attacks against the exploited.

The huge predisposition of the proletariat to combat the capitalist system went from Greece to France, from the US immigrant struggles to Madagascar, from Guadalupe to the combat of the masses in Iraq and Afghanistan, plus all attempts at resistance by the proletariat in the face of the crisis, was contained by the treacherous machinery made up by the massive recruiting of the union bureaucracies, reformist workers parties and the petit bourgeoisie currents, telling the world working class that they have to accept the dismissals of the casual and

unregistered workers to keep the positions of the full time workers.

They made the proletariat believe that if they accept the dismissals of the immigrants in Europe and USA, nothing will happen to them, they have to give up their retirement pension, their health insurance, etc to keep their jobs at GM; or as they did in Argentina with the union bureaucracy giving up workers' salaries in wage negotiations, while the bureaucrats put up a mock fight for 22% increase—when inflation is 40% annually!- and then signing for a

miserable 10 or 12% increase paid in instalments while more full time, casual and unregistered workers were dismissed from the productive processes, and today are grouped as beggars in the community soup kitchens that the council and piquetera bureaucracy set up.

The entire reformist left concentrated its forces on the major points of resistance, presenting the defeats as victories and keeping the workers divided and splitting the vanguard workers and their heroic struggles from support from the rest of the working class, while the government centralized its forces in each of these battles, imposing hard, partial defeats on the working class. The reformist left even went to the extent of promoting a subsidy for 2 or 3 months in summer for the casual workers of Iveco, Volkswagen and the car plants in Cordoba, as a "success", while they were separated from the struggle of the workers of Parana Metal and Mahle in the Steel Cordon.

Reformism around the world, an expression of the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy of the unions, in the sharpest moment of the crisis, imposed on the working class—when it tended to give an answer that was tending towards a generalization from Greece to Guadalupe, from France to Peru and from Belgium to Madagascar- a massive bailout of capitalism, its governments and regimes, by raising up the slogan of "sliding scale of layoffs, suspensions and salary reduction". And this was done by opportunist currents of the so-called "anti-capitalist parties" under a "class independence" label and other fake words of reformism, that in Argentina even went to the extent to claim as a "victory" the provincialization of the workers' co-operative, Zanon, although the Neuquen State guaranteed 23 million pesos in compensation to the capitalists, that will be paid by the blood and flesh of the working class.



Capitalism will not end by its own accord. The parasites of finance capital rebuild institutions of domination like the IMF, even in the middle of this deep world recession. US imperialist butchers disguise as Obama and discipline all reformist and treacherous leaderships around the planet; and when the spectre of revolution in Greece, Madagascar, Guadalupe, etc tends to disappear, the bourgeoisie gains confidence in their forces again and –without thanking their reformist agents for services rendered- comes to take all the spoils. This is happening in Honduras, with the 7 military bases in Colombia, in Mexico the dismissal of 60 thousand workers and shutting down *Luz y Fuerza del Centro* (the state electricity company); as well as the closure of Toyota in USA that will leave thousands of workers on the streets.

Therefore what yesterday was “*accept the dismissals and wage cuts to keep your jobs*” now has changed into a new slogan. Warren Buffet, German Chancellor Merkel, Toyota’s bosses, IMF bankers –parasites and con men from all around the world- are screaming to the world working class: “*now we sack whenever we want, you work as many hours as we want and we dismiss whoever we want.*”

This was the attack that took by the Kraft workers by ‘surprise’, if not the whole worker vanguard who were under the influence of the awful policy of the reformist left. They have been acting –in the last couple of years- as left wing of the Kirchner social pact and created false expectations in Labour Ministers, judges and parliaments, as “allies” of the workers and not exposing them as their biggest enemies.

Like the coup in Honduras and the dismissal of 60 thousand workers of the state electricity company *Luz y Fuerza del Centro* in Mexico, US imperialism organised directly the militarization of Terrabusi and the brutal repression of workers.

The US ambassador, Vilma Martinez, and the US Chamber of Commerce in Argentina, which organises under its wing about 155 companies –representatives of US imperialist monopolies in Argentina- gave the order to regain “their” property and break the strike, which had been heroically sustained by Terrabusi workers outside and inside the factory. They, supported by the caste of judges –from the time of the Videla-Peron-Radical governments- and Buenos Aires police, disciples of Camps and the ’76 military coup organized by US imperialism-, gave the order for the repression of the workers and their families. During this harsh repression, 60 workers were imprisoned inside the factory –like Videla did-. After being freed from the factory, they were prosecuted, including the whole Factory Union Commission. Workers pickets were evicted from the factory, which is still occupied by police up to today.

US imperialism decided to hit at the workers in Kraft, after many partial defeats suffered by the working class. Neither the bourgeois fraction of MERCOSUR

transnationals –led by Kirchner, nor the agrarian bourgeoisie –with their representatives like Cobos, etc.- have been able to impose a decisive defeat on the proletariat. Both fractions are in an open dispute for the surplus value taken from the working class. US finance capital –Goldman Sachs, Citibank, Warren Buffet, etc.- decided to give a new punishment, like in Pueyrredon Bridge –when worker leaders, Kostequi and Santillan, were murdered in 2002- to evict all workers from the Kraft factory and clarify to all who was capable of defeating the working class decisively.

MERCOSUR transnationals and the agrarian bosses were fighting over the loot. Meanwhile, US transnationals –which needs, more than ever, to have Argentina lined up with their interests in the region, faces Brazil that makes more and more business with Europe, especially France- and decided to lead the attack against the Argentinean proletariat to get a victory in their class war.

US imperialism has disciplined all bourgeois fractions –who stop their confrontations and suspend their disputes between themselves- so they can support the attack of the monopolies and transnationals. That is why they were available for US imperialism and they used all the State’s institutions –Labour Ministry, justice system, police, government, etc.- as well as their paid agents like the union bureaucracy, to create the conditions for a brutal repression and factory militarization in Kraft-Terrabusi. They wanted to transform Terrabusi into a test case to scare the whole workers movement and show them what is in waiting for them in the coming attacks.

By hitting in Kraft, US imperialism wants defeat the Argentinean working class to impose a “neolibertador” regime, that would allow them to increase the plundering and oppression of workers and poor people

US imperialism has proved, after hitting Kraft workers, that they won’t leave this crisis behind, through expanding “democracy” with Obama’s face –as the reformist left keeps repeating-, but their monopolies need the most reactionary regimes possible to guarantee absolute control of raw materials, super-exploitation of the working class and plunder of the nation. I.e. a regime that allows their banks and 20 imperialist companies in Argentina – most of whom are from the USA and concentrate 50% of exports in their hands- to impose: -12 hour work shifts and more unemployment of the working class; -new agreements of indebtedness and payment of the fake foreign debt to IMF, and to the bond holders, who want to collect 29.1 billion dollars annually; -increases in electricity, gas and transport prices of over 300 and 400%; -to privatize the public health and education sectors; to gain all the mines, water sources, lands for their own exploitation and profit. They want all this without any mass anti-imperialist resistance.

On the other hand, US imperialism can't allow that, in the middle of the crisis, the Kirchner gang—who is in the last term of government- and which has become a despicable national bourgeoisie, makes business with State funds and appropriates bankrupt factories like Massuh and Papel Prensa. It can't also allow the privatized companies and transport sector bosses to get millions of dollars per year as subsidy and the union bureaucracy and their 100.000 gunmen—who are no longer sufficient to defeat the working class resistance – to fill their pockets with part of the 4.500 million dollars that the bosses and the government previously gave them through funds from the health insurance scheme.

For that reason, US imperialism says: “No more” and launches its real plan. US imperialists do not have any intention to keep the “social pact” headed by Kirchner, the slave boss, and the piquetera and union bureaucracy.

In the middle of the world economic crisis—when the imperialist export monopolies are openly challenging the agrarian income tax when there is not enough profits for all- the “social pact” regime does not guarantee the defeating of the worker movement for a historical period, just when they have to impose more poverty wages, unemployment and skyrocketing taxes. They are afraid that if the workers movement is not defeated quickly, the bureaucracy's gangs may lose their control over the workers- when the labour bureaucracy has to impose more slavery agreements and fake collective bargaining—and the resistance can become an open political struggle of the masses against imperialism, the slavery bosses and the government.

The bourgeoisie has learnt very well that, facing the exhaustion of the Kirchnerist regime, - like the Menemist regime that was overthrown in the 90's- which was supported mainly by the extreme measures of incorporation of the trade unions into the state apparatus and the police usage of the union bureaucracy, a “Republican” government like the type of the De la Rúa government which controls neither the unions nor the workers movement, would not survive.

From this perspective, the worker movement has to be defeated, split, divided, and militarized but this time not with the jail keeper union bureaucracy but the police. Any “Republican” government opposing to the right wing of the UCR, Carrio or Cobos, will only be able to ‘settle down’ based on a militarized worker movement like in Terrabusi.

Thus, when Kirchnerism is passing, the US companies –headed by their embassy- are defining under which

conditions the opposition can take power in the following years, taking as a starting-point that the Kirchner government guaranteed really well not only their profits but the control of the Argentinean working class as well.

The US companies and their established monopolies learnt really well that a new government of the “alliance” between the countryside (the agrarian bosses) and the transnationals located in Argentina, which directly trade with the world market, cannot be imposed if they do not arm the regime of the constitution of '53 beforehand, if they do not split the working class, and break the unions i.e. if they do not impose on the working class similar conditions of those in Chile under the ‘military-civilian’ regime of the butcher Pinochet, beforehand.

To control the worker movement and to ensure the

Kirchner regime survives this crisis, what the whole bourgeoisie needs—without running the risk of having a new 2001 and mass upheavals- is to create conditions that allow them to impose a regime like that of the coup of 1955 (*the Libertadora*). A regime where the factories in struggle are occupied by police (commanded by the videlista-peronista-radical judges caste); where all the gains of the working



class must be smashed; and by the law of the Supreme Court which will impose, under the guise of “union freedom”, a split the working class and the creation of pro-boss unions in every factory and workplace. The bourgeoisie has started a campaign, led by judge Oyarbide, as part of their political plan, trying to imprison tens of union bureaucrats for their business with the health insurance scheme which includes the selling of expired medicines. The agent of US imperialism and the Ford company, Elisa Carrio, is the voice of this policy against the working class, under the guise of a “clean-up”(so-called *anti-corruption*) and “moral campaign” against Kirchner's gang

Terrabusi is a test case, not only of a new US imperialist offensive in its backyard, not only of a new moment of the world situation where the world bourgeoisie gains confidence in its forces and launches a counteroffensive in order to make the worker movement pay for the crisis. But it is a test case where a fraction of the great imperialist finance capital located in Argentina tries to impose on the “opposition” bourgeois fractions the stable conditions of a new regime of domination, facing the end of the Kirchnerism, preventing any offensive of the working class, to make them pay for the entire capitalist crisis.

EDITORIAL BOARD OF DEMOCRACIA OBRERA (ARGENTINA)

Open letter to the members of Cosatu, Nactu, Fedusa, independent unions

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS - Special Edition - 10 Sept 2009

We expose the plans of the state to eliminate all progressive forces in the army (including most of the veterans from all ex-liberation armies)



On Friday 4th September 2009, the strikers from the post office (members of Communication Workers Union) were peacefully marching past the Cosatu head office, when 2 policemen (in a police BMW vehicle), opened fire on them with rubber bullets, seriously wounding one of the strikers, Zodwa Maduna. The strike has been going on for weeks now and still the state has not met the demands of the workers. One of the key demands is abolishing the apartheid wage gap. Fifteen years of ANC rule and still the apartheid wage gap in the Post office exists. Many workers at the post office have been retrenched, many post offices closed down and still basic democratic demands in the post office have not been met. Municipal workers who merely tipped over trash cans were shot at; protestors in communities, demanding basic services, after thousands of marches and protests fell on deaf ears, were shot at; unarmed soldiers, who are denied the right to strike, took the unusual step of taking leave, to protest at the union buildings, were denied the right to march, and were shot at.

On the other hand, leaders of the ANC have become overnight billionaires; they live in mansions and have many houses while the masses are starving, homeless and underpaid. Billions are spent on stadiums and coal power stations that will not benefit the working class. Hundreds of billions of Rands in profits are shipped offshore each year by Anglo American and other monopolies, yet of the 28 million people of working age (15-65), only 9 million have some sort of work. [one more million will have lost their jobs by the end of the year].

Employment is in absolute decline and many youth face the prospect of permanent unemployment. 50% of the population are below the age of 25. Population increase is about 1 million per annum; housing need grows by 200 000 each year; housing delivery is less than 200 000 per annum and the backlog in housing is at least 2 million units. Added to this the houses built over the decades for the working class are falling apart; 30% do not have any electricity; only 32% have water in their houses/dwellings;

only 42% have access to telephones; 52% have flush toilets and 14% have no toilets at all.

Hand in hand with the shooting of strikers and protestors, are steps taken by the state to clamp down on protests by targeting organisers of protests- this has taken the form of arrests and placing the sweeping charge of 'public violence' over their heads. Now the state, through its parliamentary committees, wants to target organisers even of legal protests.

The Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the soldiers, opening the way for unions and centralised bargaining in the military. Even the International Labour Organization (ILO), which is a thoroughly pro-capitalist organization, ruled that where the right to strike is limited/curtailed then workers should have the right to alternative means of having their demands addressed. Thus the Military Bargaining Council, MBC, was set up. Despite this, the state has several times tried to collapse the MBC. In April-May, last year, the soldiers unions made attempts to bargain for the 2009 wage increases. The state ignored them, each time saying that they had 'no mandate'. The generals received their increases of 10.5% in January this year (22%, if we include their special allowances) while the soldiers just received empty promises. Now the state wants to ban unions for soldiers.

Why is the state attacking the working class more and more?

To answer why the state is attacking working class protests, more and more, we have to first look at the global picture:

Anglo American, Old Mutual, Liberty Life, Rembrandt, Sanlam, are the ones who control the SA economy- every single one of these monopolies has a cross ownership by international banks. JP Morgan Chase, for example, controls the Reserve Bank, that punishes the entire working class with high interest rates; most of the gold mines are owned by the Bank of New York, etc etc. The crisis of the international banks has a direct bearing on our lives here.

The rising trend of speculation and the absence of sufficient new areas for capital formation, poses a massive problem for the capitalists- if capital is not invested, it dies. Capitalism needs to increase the rate of exploitation and knows that this poses dangers for them- it opens up a period of capitalist instability where the prospect of the masses rebelling against their greater hardship and starvation, increases.

In the current crisis of imperialism, the older democratic forms, such as parliaments or unions, that were sufficient to contain the working class in the past, now become a fetter, an obstacle to the exploitative relations now required by imperialism. The coup in Honduras, where there was a US military base, shows that imperialism is on the march to take back the few democratic gains that the working class has won. Last year billions of Rands were stolen from our pensions by these imperialist banks. At least 50 million workers, world wide, will be dismissed this year

alone; in the past, strikes and unions were tolerated as necessary evils by the capitalists, now every strike and protest opens up the possibility of moving from the economic and social terrain to the political. In other words, every protest by any sector of workers could spark off mass rebellion of the working class who has been trampled on, humiliated and starved for so long.

1996 brought a rise of community based 'social movements'; these were rapidly sidelined, co-opted and corrupted by the World Social Forum, and isolated by the leadership of Cosatu. Cosatu initially had a resolution supporting actions and campaigns of housing but these were sidelined over time.

Despite this the number of community protests have steadily risen over the years; from 2002 there have been about 1000 protests every year, increasing every year.

There is thus great urgency for imperialism to implement their plans to smash the unions in the military and progressive soldiers.

When the hungry and homeless and unemployed start to rise, imperialism would want to protect their assets first. For this they need an army that is brutal, anti-worker and who is able and willing to cold bloodedly slaughter the working class, as they did in Indonesia when they killed off 1 million communists, in Chile where thousands were executed in cold blood, in Argentina, where over 30 000 activists were killed by the state under the time of the dictatorship, etc etc (there are many such examples around the globe). This is the real reason why the state is trying to smash the unions in the army.

The state plans to get rid of all the progressive forces in the army

The Institute of Security studies has already long concluded that the ANC government has a crisis of legitimacy. Imperialism, who draws on the analysis of the ISS, prepared a plan to convert the SANDF into a mercenary-type of army. This is part of a world trend to greater use of mercenaries rather than a conscripted or volunteer army. This trend to a mercenary army is one which came after imperialism drew the lesson of the war in Vietnam and the weakness (for them) of a conscripted or civilian based army, due to the mass protest movement that developed on their home soil. The war in Iraq, with its 300 000 mercenaries, is evidence of this world trend to more fascistic methods. The total security forces in Iraq is 1,3 million and still imperialism cannot contain the masses; Iran also has a 1,3 million paramilitary force and still cannot completely suppress the working class; Israel has been maintained as a fascistic jackboot over the Palestinian and Arab masses for the past 51 years and still they cannot destroy the heroic resistance of the Palestinian masses. On a world scale there has been a trend to more mercenary-type of armed forces. The question is when is quantity changing into quality (world fascism)? [In this stage of world 'peace' US imperialism has over 130 military bases around the world and increasing their number rapidly.]

In 1994 imperialism had to neutralize the nationalist liberation armies of the ANC, PAC and Azanla. Thus the process was started of integrating them into the existing army. The integrated army was constructed on the ethos of Mandela's words: "Never, never again (will we allow such repression of the people)". Imperialism made this process frustrating for many of the liberation soldiers and many of them accepted dismissal packages. But imperialism knew they had to find a way to purge all the progressive fighters from the army because if this was not done, the next time there was a mass uprising of the working class, the army could not be depended on to shoot the masses down.

In 2002 the SA government produced a document called HR 2010. In this plan they intend to limit the age of the lower ranks to 28, while those in the higher ranks who were not constantly being promoted, would be dismissed; the top ranks would be on 4- 15 year contracts and there would be 'talent scout' hunting- in other words, the most fascist types with experience of putting down uprisings would be brought in; the ratio would be black 64%, 10% coloured, 0.75% Indian, 24% white. The population percentage of whites is less than 10%. This means that many of the killers from the previous repressive regime could find a home within the new army, along with possible 'special skills' from US imperialism. 10 000 new recruits would be taken in annually for 2 year military service and only the most pro-capitalist types retained. **In short this plan intends getting rid of most of the progressive elements within the army and certainly most of the ex-liberation forces.** The plan is to create a professional mercenary army, equipped to suppress any local uprising of the working class. **But in order for them to do this they first have to smash and defeat the 2 unions within the army.**

The creating a professional mercenary army has consequences for the rest of the working class in Africa too. Currently the role of the SANDF has nothing to do with 'defence of the nation' (we are not under military attack from imperialism at the moment) but everything to do with protecting imperialist plundering in DRC and the rest of Africa. The creation of a mercenary-type SANDF means that the increasing role of the army will be to put down any working class uprising in the rest of Africa as well. Imperialism cannot depend on the current SANDF to do this, thus their need to purge the army of all pro-worker, progressive elements.

From the way municipal and post office workers are being shot, it is clear that **the state wants to suppress all forms of protest, including that from all unions.** The imperialist mouthpiece, the Institute of Security Studies, on SABC 1, Asikhulume on 6 September 2009, already described all unions in SA as 'unprofessional', and 'unlike unions in Europe'- what he forgot to add that the unions in Europe are passive, toothless and very skilled at selling out their members.

This explains why the police and the courts were so brutal in suppressing any protest by the soldiers, strikers and community protestors. The ground is being laid for

integration of more fascist types into the army means that the petrol bombing of the military vehicle on the August 26 protest by the soldiers at the Union buildings in Pretoria could have been the work of an agent provocateur. If the state appoints as head of the Hawks, Dramat - whose only claim to fame is being part of a intelligence crackdown on Pagad (where infiltration and framing of activists were of the order of the day)- this explanation seems not only likely but probable and could even become a more widespread tactic by the state to crackdown on the rising tide of resistance. It also shows the methods of the FBI and CIA are alive and well in SA. Imperialism and their lackeys in the state were looking for an excuse to purge the army of any elements who might side with the working class. The first step was to mass dismiss 1300 of the leading 'troublemakers' and then proceed with more mass dismissals until they have purged the army of all or most of the pro-working class elements. In 2002 the army stood at 78 000; the state plans to reduce this to 50 000 or less initially, and then increase it by filling the ranks with mercenary-type professional killers, such as currently operating in Iraq.

There is great urgency for imperialism to implement their plans to smash the unions and progressive soldiers. Protests from the working class are accelerating. In the April 2009 elections 9 million people did not even bother either to register to vote, or to vote. Millions who voted for the ANC were giving them a last chance to deliver. Since June we have been living through a strike wave, where hundreds of thousands of workers (and now the soldiers too) embarked on protest action, despite the efforts of the Cosatu leaders to keep them off the streets.

The SACP is deliberately baiting the WIVL

The SACP youth wing has written a letter to us wherein they hint that the WIVL is calling for an 'insurrection' now. This is a blatant untruth. As Lenin wrote in *What is to be done?* ... 'the masses have no need of stimulants'. When the masses protest for their democratic demands, on whose side are we? The question is why are they trying to frame us? This is to hide the fact that the state is on the march to not only smash the unions in the army, but also to dismiss all the progressive members of the army, including many of the rank and file of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance supporters in the military.

The SACP ministers, including Nqakula and Kassrils, oversaw, as members of the state Arms standing committee, sales of weapons of half the total amount to the US military, during the period of the US imperialist invasion of Iraq and its subsequent occupation. The current slaughter of civilians by the US imperialism in Afghanistan is being assisted by SA produced weapons, supported by the SACP. The current SACP ministers in cabinet, all unanimously support the mass dismissal of the 1300 soldiers who were brutalised by the state in their attempted peaceful protest at the union buildings. The YCLSA and Cosatu leaders have condemned the mass dismissal but is this just posing 'left' or just an expression of fear of the

consequences of the state's actions (to sharpen the class conflict). The current 'security cluster' is staffed by higher ranks of the SACP. If there is a mass uprising again in the future, on whose side will the SACP be?

The 3 million mzantsi accounts hand over, for free, R30 million extra per month in bank fees, to monopoly capital, thanks to the SACP campaign. [This money comes from the monthly bank fees of a minimum of R10 per account for an average of 3 transactions].

Fifteen years of dependence of the middle class and capitalist class in the ANC of 'deepening democracy' or of a 'developmental state' needs urgent re-evaluation and assessment by the working class. Lenin drew the conclusion in his work STATE AND REVOLUTION, that upon achievement of a democracy, the middle class and the capitalist class lose their revolutionism. Was Lenin wrong? Have the past 15 years proved his analysis wrong, or has it been confirmed?

The petti bourgeois cannot deal with fundamental issues and tries to distract the working class from discussing and debating them. The members of Cosatu and the rank and file of the SACP need to confront a real assessment of the class role of the alliance leadership, and indeed of the role of the alliance itself. The lives of the working class depend upon this.

The questionable class role of the Cosatu leaders

The Cosatu leaders have failed to organise a real fight against high food prices; they have failed to wage a fighting campaign against the million job losses this year, and now they want workers to shift focus by not demanding a living wage and rather accept increased slave conditions in exchange for 'jobs'. They have 'forgotten' the basic rule of capitalism, that the capitalists are here to make money, not to create jobs and that any concession from them has to be extracted through struggle. The leaders of the Cosatu unions have supported 'broad based black economic empowerment' such as sasol inzalo (where workers lost millions of their savings); they invest in privatization of the health sector and promote an additional tax on workers to fund a so-called National Health Insurance. 'Empowerment' is seen by these leaders as advancement of workers into the ranks of management, not as a generalised increase in the conditions of the working class.

Despite the words of the Cosatu and SACP leaders, the interests of the middle class and the billionaires of the ANC are always placed above that of the working class, such is the fundamental nature of the alliance with it.

The way forward

The main axis of the way forward has to be:

Even if the Cosatu leaders do not put it on the agenda, it is important to raise that workers demands for decent housing for all should be met; demands that could be considered also are a sliding scale of wages (when prices

go up then wages should too); sliding scale of hours (reduce the working week without loss of pay and share all the work among all those who can work); etc. These demands are important to unite and gain support of employed with the unemployed. All these demands centred around defence of workers and soldiers interests. A living wage for all! Stop retrenchments and mass dismissals of workers and soldiers! Reinstate all dismissed workers and soldiers! Stop the terrorising of the workers' and soldiers' protests by the state! Let us put it to the workers of Cosatu and other federations, we need a programme of action **irrespective of which party you support** or belong to. **Defend the worker, defend the unemployed, defend the soldier. Down with the fatcat CEO's, Cabinet Ministers and generals! This should be our central slogan.**

What ever action plan is decided we call for the formation of workers and soldiers committees in every industrial area and in every working class community. These must lead the defence of the working class against the ongoing attacks by the state and the imperialists. We call for a national meeting of workers and soldiers delegates to discuss and plan a national and international programme of action to defend working class interests.

Workers, we want you to know that a section of the advanced guard of the vanguard fighters from Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brasil, New Zealand, USA, and South Africa, as united in the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction support your cause. Without worker-soldier unity, imperialism will defeat us. **If the imperialists succeed in mass dismissals from the army, the working class will later pay with its blood, like in Honduras, like in Iraq, like in Afghanistan, like the Palestinians, like the masses in the DRC, like the masses in Rwanda, like the masses in Zimbabwe!**

Workers of the world unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains!

PS: Don't be fooled by reactionary forces such as the church leaders who now at 5 past midnight wake up and 'discover' that workers and soldiers are suffering- they and the NGO's are there to try to pacify the slaves (us), not to revolt against the exploitation of the 'master'.

Down with the capitalist generals!

Down with the puppet Military Commission!

Down with the mass dismissal of the 1400 militant soldiers!

Forward to unionisation of soldiers across Africa!

Forward to the 30% increase for soldiers!

Send messages of solidarity to sandu@mweb.co.za (SA National Defence Union) and bwmvovo@gmail.com (SA Security Forces Union)

NUMMI/Toyota Workers and Friends:

Only YOU can save NUMMI workers' jobs!

Organize NOW to occupy and take control of the plant!

Greetings to the workers of NUMMI from your supporters in Oakland, New York, Japan, Latin America, South Africa, and New Zealand! The news of your struggle to stop Toyota from closing the NUMMI factory has spread to your fellow workers far and wide, and they stand in firm solidarity with you in your battle to keep your plant open, save your jobs, and preserve your communities.

One thing is clear: You cannot achieve your goals by relying on politicians – Democrats or Republicans – to bail you out. Governor Schwarzenegger recently cut state workers' salaries by 15%, and has slashed the budgets for schools, parks, and other services working people rely on. President Obama has managed to get Congress to spend billions of dollars to benefit Wall Street and the stockholders of the auto companies, and to fund the oil wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Obama will **never** deliver a health care reform, the Employee Free Choice Act (also known as EFCA or the card check law, which will make it easier for workers to organize unions), or any of the other changes he promised during his campaign. Anything the workers achieve will be through massive class struggles against Obama! Down with Obama and his Republicrat regime! The ugly truth is that our country is controlled by the rich and powerful, and operated in the interests of the big corporations they own. They are the only ones who will get bailed out by the government when they are in trouble. The rest of us have to rely on working class solidarity and militant class struggle actions.

As for Toyota, it has shown that despite its official corporate slogan of «mutual trust between labor and management,» it is no friend to its employees, even in Japan. In 2006, Japanese Toyota workers were so dissatisfied with the company's treatment of the workforce, especially long-term temporary workers who did the same jobs as permanent workers for half the pay, and who were not eligible to join the union, that they felt compelled to organize an entirely new union, ATU, in order to give workers a real voice. As a spokesperson for the new union reported, «All the Toyota group companies are putting pressures on workers to increase their global competitiveness while spreading out the cost cutting schemes at a breakneck pace. As a result, [the] majority of the workers suffer from low wages and long working hours while being forced to work under extremely harsh working conditions where health hazards or mental problems are not uncommon and even 'overwork death' is widely observed.» (<http://www.labor.net.org/news/0306/horizu.htm>). More recently, on August 26, 2009, Toyota announced that it will «suspend production at one of two lines at a factory in [Japan] from Spring of next year until the second half of 2011, lowering its overall capacity by 220,000 vehicles.» (<http://www.manufacturing.net/News-Toyota-Scales-Back-Production-In-Japan-082609.aspx>).

Toyota's announcement did not give any indication regarding the fate of the workers while the factory is half shut down. So much for «mutual trust between labor and management»!

You also cannot count on your union to mount an effective campaign in your defense. Again, the truth here is ugly. The UAW leadership long ago abandoned class struggle militancy for business unionism. All the union bureaucrats know how to do is beg politicians and corporations for crumbs. When the US government bailed out GM, the Obama administration and GM's failed leadership cut a deal with the UAW that amounted to a vicious attack on the company's diminished workforce. When it comes down to a real battle, their idea of how to resolve it is to sell out the membership by agreeing to let the auto companies cut the workers' pay and benefits and institute mass layoffs. As the GM bankruptcy shows, these tactics do not save companies in the long run. They lead only to a dead end for rank and file workers.

What are the tactics that **will** work? We can learn a valuable lesson from the militant mass actions of the 1930s. In the heyday of the UAW, auto workers marched in mass picket lines and occupied factories with sit-down strikes. These successful actions included the six-week factory occupations at the Flint Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants in 1937, and the «Battle of the Overpass» at the Ford Motor Company's Rouge Complex later that same year. The workers' efforts were backed by heroic acts of solidarity on the part of tens of thousands of other union members, together with their families and communities. These are the **only** tactics that have been proven to win major gains for workers. Indeed, the high standard of living that auto workers enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s could not have been achieved without these actions.

And this is not just history. The same types of mass, militant, rank-and-file worker actions are still being used successfully today by workers in France, the French Caribbean, and Latin America. In the US, millions of Latino workers, supported by the ILWU, organized a massive general strike of immigrant workers on May Day in 2006 and 2007, closing hundreds of businesses nationwide, and stopping port traffic all along the West Coast. More recently, workers at Republic Windows and Doors in Chicago and the Stella D'oro bakery plant in New York have shown the effectiveness of plant occupations and strikes.

Where does that leave the NUMMI workers of today, and their supporters? The threatened closure of the NUMMI plant in March 2010 is still months away. That gives us the gift of time to organize an **effective** battle to stop it! But we must start acting **soon** in order to be ready when the

time comes. Many workers employed by Toyota and other auto companies, in Japan, the US, and around the world, are or soon will be facing the same kinds of attacks – plant closures, layoffs, speedups, and wage and benefit cutbacks. A militant struggle by the NUMMI workers would set an example for these workers, and inspire solidarity actions in other plants and even in other industries.

What is the next step? Workers must **organize factory committees** to coordinate an **occupation of the NUMMI plant** before it closes! We can have no faith in the sell-out leadership of the UAW; only a revitalized democratic rank and file movement can lead us out of the crisis! An emergency conference of representatives of rank and file workers from different areas of the plant must be convened to **elect rank-and-file, democratically run mobilization committees** to plan and organize the struggle.

Working class communities around the factory, and the Bay Area labor movement, must be mobilized in advance to **defend the occupation**. Workers will need to prepare for self-defense against the reaction of the state! The community can also help by organizing solidarity kitchens to feed the workers and their families during the occupation; raising funds to help keep workers from losing their homes; and providing other emergency assistance. Our brother and sister Toyota workers in Japan and elsewhere can also help if we call on them for solidarity and support, and even coordinate joint actions if the circumstances are right. <More detail on potential for Toyota worker solidarity actions in Japan to be inserted here if available from JRCL.>

What should we fight for? Toyota says it intends to abandon the NUMMI plant because it claims it cannot make a profit there. If this is true, then Toyota should have no problem turning the plant over to the workers to run. **NUMMI must be controlled and operated by its workers, without compensation to GM or Toyota!** Let the workers' committees accountable and recallable instantly by all the workers in the plant, decide what is the best use for the plant and equipment. **Open the books** to give workers full access to all financial information about their company! Workers must take control of any government «bailout» funds used to shore up the company. **Not a single worker should be laid off.** All work should be shared among all those who can work, without loss of pay.

But only **workers' control** can make this happen. A workers' takeover of the NUMMI plant could set the stage for a movement toward **workers' control**. But all forms of workers control cannot remain isolated. They must be defended by **a workers' government**. When workers elsewhere see the NUMMI workers take the reins of their union and their factory into their own hands, they can be inspired to believe that they too can take control of their workplaces. Ultimately, workers **can band together to bring down the capitalist system** – which uses their labor and the natural resources that belong to all of us to generate profit for an elite few – and the bosses' government, which subordinates human rights and environmental protection to corporate profit and Wall Street greed. Only the workers, acting together as a mighty political force, can fight

capitalism and wall street. Hundreds of thousands of California state workers are under the ax of the capitalist state. A one day general strike will shut down the state universities. We need more than one day of strikes. We need to start preparing for massive workers assemblies of state workers, students, teachers, dock workers (ILUW) and all industrial workers including MUMMI workers with the support of the working class communities to prepare a rank-and-file general strike to shut down the state of California. Down with the UAW's bureaucrats and the rest of the union bureaucracy that stop massive actions by the workers! Only the mighty strength of a united working class can fight the capitalist/imperialist system. Only a workers' government can ultimately save the jobs of Toyota/MUMMI workers by taking over all the industries the banks and the financial institutions without compensation. Such a workers' government, run by the workers should be organized to produce goods and services for human needs, not for profit.

Down with Toyota's Plans for Mass Layoffs and Closure of the NUMMI Plant!

Jobs for all! For sliding scale of wages and working hours!

Down with the UAW Leaders Chauvinism of «Buy American Only»!

Expel the Parasitic Union Bureaucracy and Replace it with an Elected and Recallable Militant Workers!

For International workers Unity and Solidarity Against American Imperialism and American Chauvinism!

The imperialist butchers disguise themselves as Obama! Break with Obama! Defeat American Imperialism and its Troops in Iraq, Afghanistan and Everywhere in the World!

For Workers' Solidarity Between Japanese and American Workers Against the Attacks by Toyota and the Auto Industry!

For Workers' Control over Toyota and the rest of the Multi-National Auto Plants in the US and Japan and the Rest of the world!

For Expropriation Without Compensation of Toyota Plants and the Entire Auto Industry!

Expropriate Without Compensation the Banks and the Financial Institutions and Put Them Under Workers' Control!

For a Workers' Governments in the US and Japan to Carry Out These Tasks!

For International Workers' Solidarity and International Socialism as the Only Effective Means to End Attacks by Multinational Corporations and Global Capitalism!

HUMANIST WORKERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM
(HWSR)

[HTTP://WWW.HUMANISTSFORREVOLUTIONARYSOCIALISM.ORG/](http://www.humanistsforrevolutionarysocialism.org/)

MARCHES AND RALLIES ARE NOT ENOUGH!

FOR LABOR ACTIONS TO STOP THE WAR

WHOSE WAR? OBAMA'S WAR! • WHOSE CRISIS? CAPITALISM'S CRISIS!

October 17, 2009 has been chosen by a broad "anti-war" coalition (see <http://oct17awc.wordpress.com>) as a "national day of action" against the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, and in favor of increased funding for jobs, social services, and education. Humanist Workers for Revolutionary Socialism (HWRS) echoes the call for an end to these imperialist wars, and agrees that society's resources should be used to meet the human needs of working people, instead of bailing out Wall Street and waging wars in the interest of the multinational corporations so they can continue their parasitic existence.

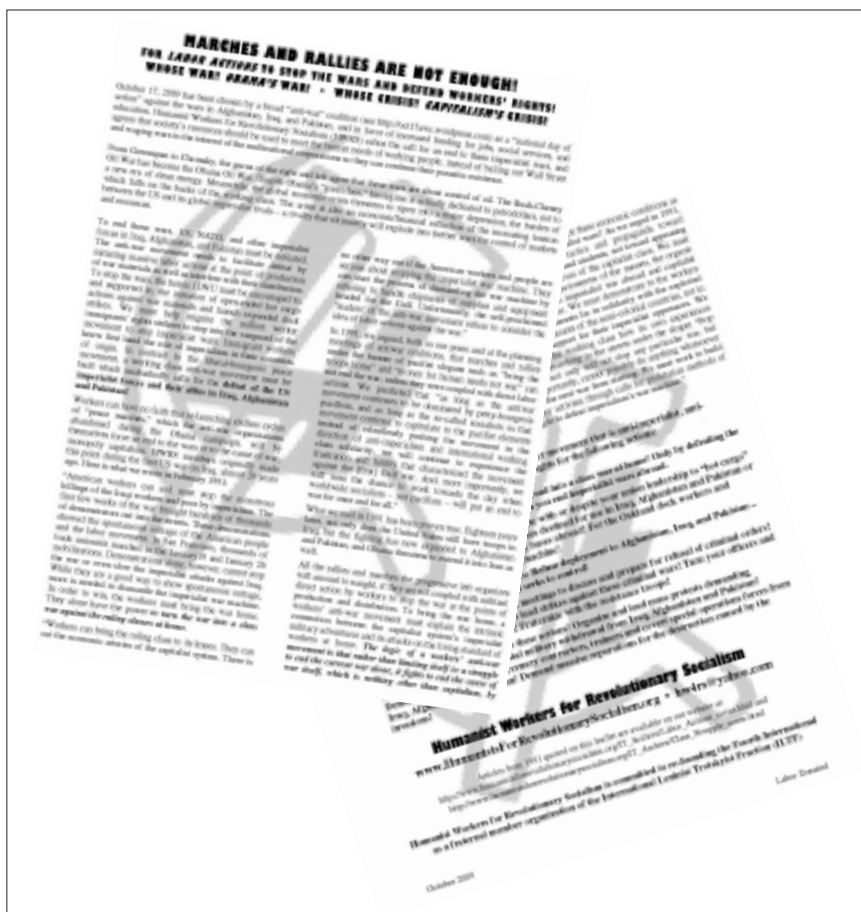
From Greenspan to Chomsky, the gurus of the right and left agree that these wars are about control of oil. The Bush-Cheney Oil War has become the Obama Oil War. Despite Obama's "green face", his regime is actually dedicated to petrodollars, not to a new era of clean energy. Meanwhile, the global economic crisis threatens to ripen into a major depression, the burden of which falls on the backs of the working class. The crisis is also an economic/financial reflection of the increasing tension between the US and its global imperialist rivals – a rivalry that ultimately will explode into further wars for control of markets and resources.

To end these wars, US, NATO, and other imperialist forces in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan must be defeated. The anti-war movement needs to facilitate defeat by initiating massive labor actions at the point of production of war materials as well as interfere with their distribution. To stop the wars, the heroic ILWU must be encouraged to, and supported in, the initiation of open-ended hot cargo actions against war materials and launch expanded dock strikes. We must help reignite the million worker immigrants' rights strikers to step into the vanguard of the movement to stop imperialist wars. Immigrant workers know first hand the role of imperialism in their countries of origin. In contrast to the liberal-bourgeois peace movement, a working class anti-war movement must be built which unabashedly calls for the **defeat of the US imperialist forces and their allies in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan!**

Workers can have no faith that re-launching endless cycles of "peace marches," which the anti-war organizations abandoned during the Obama campaign, will by themselves force an end to the wars or to the cause of war, monopoly capitalism. HWRS members originally made this point during the first US war on Iraq, almost 20 years ago. Here is what we wrote in February 1991:

"American workers can and must stop the monstrous killings of the Iraqi workers and poor by imperialism. The first few weeks of the war brought hundreds of thousands of demonstrators out into the streets. These demonstrations showed the spontaneous outrage of the American people and the labor movement. In San

Francisco, thousands of trade unionists marched in the January 19 and January 26 mobilizations. Demonstrations alone, however, cannot stop the war or even slow the imperialist attacks against Iraq. While they are a good way to show spontaneous outrage, more is needed to dismantle the imperialist war machine. In order to win, the workers must bring the war home. They alone have the power **to turn the war into a class war against the ruling classes at home.**



"Workers can bring the ruling class to its knees. They can cut the economic arteries of the capitalist system. There is no other way out if the American workers and people are serious about stopping the imperialist war machine. They can start the process of dismantling the war machine by refusing to handle shipments of supplies and equipment headed for the Gulf. Unfortunately, the self-proclaimed 'leaders' of the anti-war movement refuse to consider the idea of labor actions against the war."

In 1991, we argued, both in our press and at the planning meetings of antiwar coalitions, that marches and rallies under the banner of pacifist slogans such as "bring the troops home" and "money for human needs not war" can not end the war, unless they were coupled with direct labor actions. We predicted that "as long as the antiwar movement continues to be dominated by petty-bourgeois pacifism, and as long as the so-called socialists in that movement continue to capitulate to the pacifist elements instead of relentlessly pushing the movement in the direction of anti-imperialism and international working class solidarity, we will continue to experience the frustration and futility that characterized the movement against the [first] Gulf war. And, more importantly, we will miss the chance to work towards the day when worldwide socialism – not pacifism – will put an end to war for once and for all."

What we said in 1991 has been proven true. Eighteen years later, not only does the United States still have troops in Iraq, but the fighting has now expanded to Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Obama threatens to extend it into Iran as well.

All the rallies and marches the progressive left organizes will amount to naught, if they are not coupled with militant direct action by workers to stop the war at the points of production and distribution. To bring the war home, a workers' anti-war movement must explain the intrinsic connection between the capitalist system's imperialist military adventures and its attacks on the living standard of workers at home. ***The logic of a workers' anti-war movement is that rather than limiting itself to a struggle to end the current war alone, it fights to end the cause of war itself, which is nothing other than capitalism, by turning the imperialist war abroad into a class war at home.*** For unlike the pacifist moralists who eternally dominate the American peace movements, the workers' anti-war movement fosters no illusions in a benign and benevolent or enlightened peaceful capitalism.

In the years since 1991, under Republican and Democratic administrations alike, the gap between rich and poor in the US and worldwide has widened to obscene dimensions. Millions have lost their homes and forty million live in poverty. High unemployment rates and shrinking state and local government budgets trigger vicious attacks on workers' wages and benefits. Those who still have jobs are told to be grateful they "only suffer" furloughs and wage cuts instead of layoffs. Health care costs are beyond the reach of the fifty million not insured through their employer, and despite demagogic pandering during the campaign the

Obama administration is incapable of delivering health care as promised.

How can we effectively fight these economic conditions as well as the current imperialist wars? As we urged in 1991, "we must direct our tactics and propaganda toward educating the workers and students, not toward appeasing the liberal representatives of the capitalist class. We must draw out, in the consciousness of the masses, the organic connection between imperialist war abroad and capitalist oppression at home. We must demonstrate to the workers that their real interests lie in solidarity with the exploited workers and peasants of the semi-colonial countries, not in chauvinistic support for their imperialist oppressors. We must show the working class how its own experiences prove that marching in the streets under the slogan 'Stop the War' not only will not stop any particular war, but more importantly, cannot possibly do anything whatsoever to stop the next war from starting. We must work to build up labor activism through calls for proletarian methods of struggle to defeat imperialism's war machine."

Today, as in 1991, what is needed is a working class anti-war movement that is anti-imperialist, anti-interventionist, and anti-capitalist in character, and that fights for the following actions:

- ***American workers: Turn the imperialist war abroad into a class war at home! Only by defeating the bosses of Wall Street and the corporate elite can you end imperialist wars abroad.***
- ***Transportation and logistics workers: Organize with or despite your union leadership to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) munitions and other supplies destined for use in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan or for distribution to the other 130 US military bases abroad! For the Oakland dock workers and million workers' strikes to starve the war machine!***
- ***Soldiers in the U.S. and on overseas bases: Refuse deployment to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan – and all other areas that US imperialism seeks to control!***
- ***Soldiers already deployed: Hold mass meetings to discuss and prepare for refusal of criminal orders! Build a "let's go home" movement to lead strikes against these criminal wars! Turn your officers and arms over to the resistance fighters! Fraternize with the resistance troops!***
- ***Workers internationally: Support these actions! Organize and lead mass protests demanding immediate, unconditional and total military withdrawal from Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan! Demand the withdrawal of mercenary contractors, trainers and covert special operations forces from Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan! Demand massive reparations for the destruction caused by the invasions!***

HUMANIST WORKERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

OCTOBER 2009

On the Chinese Question

Letter from the FLTI to the Nucleo Obrero Revolucionario of Trujillo, Perú

10-12-09

Comrades of NOR,

We have been studying your letter of polemic with the group from Cuzco. We agree with you on the conception of the revolutionary party and the Marxist praxis, and also in the action program for the working class in Peru.

With this letter we want to open a reflection and exchange positions on a very important issue that you mention in your polemic with Bloque Marxista, i.e. the former workers state and capitalist restoration. This debate, especially on the Chinese question, as you will see in our papers, is still an open debate within the ILTF.

We think that the Marxist position on this matter —as we had said before— will be conquered as part of the struggle to unite the threads of revolutionary Marxism —destroyed by reformism and the renegades of Trotskyism first with Thermidor and then with the liquidation of the international Trotskyist movement. For decades, mainly since '90s, they revised revolutionary Marxism to justify their degeneration and betrayal. From here we would like to pose our positions and differences, contributing our theoretical and programmatic conceptions; based on the search for the Marxist truth and the best program for the international proletariat.

On the Stalinist bureaucracy in the degenerated or deformed former workers states and capitalist restoration.

Straight to the point: we think that the capitalist restoration was not peaceful and we also have differences with your affirmation that the proletariat due to an "involution" of its consciousness allowed a relatively peaceful restoration. This was part of the debate at the ILTF Congress. As Trotsky said the fate of the workers state was defined by the international class struggle. As you will see in our resolutions we claim that capitalist restoration

had been already prepared during the 1980s and that in 1989 the restoration was not peaceful because it was imposed by the bureaucracy by the defeat of the political revolutions in 1953 in East German, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968, Georgia and Ukraine. And the defeat of the revolutionary upheaval of 1968-74 was a qualitative change, as the Stalinist bureaucracy used all their forces to prevent new victories of the world proletarian revolution; the Bonapartist counterrevolutionary bureaucracy led by Castrism sold out and caused the defeat the Centre American revolution over the flesh and bones of the workers and peasants as in Nicaragua and El Salvador; Jaruzelsky who in Poland scabbed on the huge strike of the British

miners by selling Thatcher coal broke the strike and imposed a huge defeat on the proletariat. Finally, the smashing of Tiananmen in China was a decisive defeat. The bureaucracy had some flexibility in allowing the student movement's demonstrations but when the proletariat intervened with its factories committees, the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy launched an offensive massacring hundreds of thousands of workers and students; this massacre was so big that even today there is no figure put on the deaths and bodies are still being found in



remote villages of China.

Not only that, the result of capitalist restoration opened a period of a huge counterrevolutionary offensives like the invasion of 21 armies commanded by imperialism against Iraq in 1991 and the Balkans in 1999 with hundreds of thousands of deaths, as well fratricidal wars in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The invasion of the Red Army transformed into a White Army in Chechnya meant that this nation was left without many adult men due to a real counterrevolutionary genocide. These are only some examples. From our point of view, capitalist restoration was not peaceful, before, during, and after the events of the 1989.

Till the 1980s the bureaucracy was Bonapartist, that is, it had only a single counterrevolutionary character but it fulfilled a dual function: it acted to defend its privileges and therefore, defended the basis of the workers property whose control was precisely the source of its privileges. However in acting this way it destroyed them more and more. The bureaucracy did not defend workers property out of fear of the proletariat but because this was the source of its privileges as a bureaucrat caste. The bureaucracy stopped fulfilling this role from the end of the "post war boom" and the beginning of the world economic crisis and the defeat of the revolutionary general rehearsal of 68/74, ending the pact between imperialism and the bureaucracy made at Yalta and Potsdam. In the '80s a new pact was made between the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy and imperialism: the pact of capitalist restoration where the Stalinist bureaucracy became the direct agents of imperialism with Yeltsin and Gorbachev selected as leaders by the City Bank and IMF. The new pact to restore capitalism on the former workers states brought about their virtual collapse.

Therefore the world historic defeat of '89 took place only after many preceding defeats of workers as already mentioned. In Asia the Communist Parties provoked wars between workers states like China and Vietnam in 78/79 which was a tragedy for the international proletariat. They were supported by the renegades speaking in the name of Trotsky undergoing a deep degeneration. These defeats led to the deepening of the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat as the key factor in the development of those historical events. In 1989, delayed political revolutions took place, under the shape of generalized spontaneous mass processes of resistance against the restoration plans of the imperialist powers and the restorationist bureaucracy in the '80s. They were upheavals against that restorationist pact, against a bureaucracy no longer Bonapartist but a bureaucracy that looked consciously for an alliance with the world imperialist bourgeoisie to liquidate the workers states and turn the bureaucracy into a new bourgeoisie.

The spontaneity of the masses was marked by the previous process, by the action of the Stalinist bureaucracy already transformed into an agent of restoration, that in its different wings became more and more direct agents of imperialism, due to the process of the destruction of the productive forces in those states, and due to the crisis of the Fourth International that after decades of centrism, opportunism and adaptations had retreated from the revolutionary theory, strategy, and program of its foundation. The consequence of all these, was that those generalized revolts expressed an acute immaturity of the proletariat of the East, that intervened when the west proletariat was hit by the offensive of Reaganism-Thatcherism in the central imperialist countries.

The crisis had exploited from the periphery to the center of the former USSR, that is, it started in Germany where the imperialist bourgeoisie had get a fast victory with the imperialist unification. "Socialism in one country" of Stalinism, besides the measures of "restoration without

war" ("restauración en frío") left the productive forces of USSR in an absolute crisis, the world crisis accelerated this process and USSR was destroyed as a workers state and heavily in debt. The conditions for capitalist restoration were created.

In '89, the masses rose up against the hatred restorationist bureaucracy because they could not continue living under those conditions. But unlike what Trotsky had written, in 1989 the of the workers property relations were no longer defended by the consciousness of the masses, on the contrary, they identified those property relations as the cause of their misery causing the destruction of the workers state. This false consciousness was prepared by the counterrevolutionary leaderships in general and Stalinism in particular by the betrayal of the generalized revolutionary upheaval 68-74, that is, preventing the victorious advance of the world proletarian revolution. Since the bureaucracy became the direct restorationist agents linking the workers states to the world economy dominated by imperialism, this brought about a major decline in the living conditions as well the destruction of the consciousness of the masses who intervened in the workers states in 1989. Those workers hated the restorationist bureaucracy because of its privileges but had the illusion that restoring capitalism would bring them the standard of living of the advanced capitalist countries. All this thanks to the counterrevolutionary role of the bureaucracy over 60 years.

At the beginning of the political revolution in 1989, the proletariat of those workers states abandoned workers democracy for bourgeois democracy. They did not intervene with the methods and self-organizing of their class. That is, the soviet did not emerge, the organ of dual power of armed workers against the bureaucracy and labor aristocracy, and there was no revolutionary leadership at the head of the struggle to lead them to a victorious political revolution. In those spontaneous mobilizations the counterrevolutionary leaderships placed themselves at the head; this "democratic" pro-imperialist petty bourgeoisie aborted the revolutionary fight allowed the victory of the counterrevolution. For that reason, the '89 political revolution could not go further because of the character of the leadership, and the leaderships that in the previous period prepared for the destruction of the bureaucratized workers states leading to the counter-revolution. We can say that the revolutions in the '89 were delayed political revolutions because of the crisis of leadership and previous defeats. Imperialism had weakened the proletariat with the defeat of the 68-74 uprisings and the restorationist pact of the 1980s.

This is the relationship we see among the masses, their consciousness, the bureaucracy, capitalist restoration and the crisis of the Fourth International that was founded to intervene in a decisive way in those events, but failed because the Trotskyist movement was at the feet of Stalinism or social democracy.

On the Chinese revolution

First, we believe we are facing a serious theoretical debate. You do not put in question the program, but point what seems to be a real fact of life, not of books, that would put in question the permanent revolution.

We do not believe you renounce the permanent revolution. The question is about a past event and its character. In the following lines we will have to be "supported by the books", that is, to follow a Marxist method to be able to be guided so that these complex facts do not make us enter a labyrinth. We apply the theory and program of the permanent revolution to define and defend our position on China. We approach the Chinese question from the exceptional circumstances advanced as a theoretical possibility in the *Transitional Program* of the Fourth International:

"Is the creation of a worker and peasant government by the traditional workers' organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is, to say the least, highly improbable. However, one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.), the petty bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie. In any case one thing is not to be doubted: even if this highly improbable variant somewhere at some time becomes a reality and the "workers' and farmers' government" in the above-mentioned sense is established in fact, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat."

You say the Chinese revolution questions the Permanent revolution. We think that this is not the case. The Chinese revolution reaffirms the permanent revolution and the Trotskyist program of 1938 which drew the lessons of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927. Your theory that China was set up as a peasant state based on the state capitalism puts in question several issues that must be solved in a Marxist way. We are committed to this debate between revolutionaries who fight for their convictions.

First, if we talk about state capitalism, in fact we are talking about state-ism (the difference between state capitalism and state-ism will be developed later), that is, where the state controls some sectors of production to maintain capitalist exploitation. Secondly, talking about a peasant revolution based on state capitalism, you are talking about a bourgeois democratic revolution. Third, if we say that it is possible for the petty bourgeoisie to establish a capitalist dictatorship that lasts for more than a brief period, say dual power, Kerenskyism, of Bonapartism sui generis, we are introducing a new concept into Marxism that the petty bourgeois can create a **class dictatorship not only under capitalism but in its imperialist epoch**.

According to you the Peasant state would can balance between the bourgeoisie and proletariat and set up a form of state capitalism. That is, a state which is neither bourgeois nor worker. Expropriating the bourgeoisie, the peasants and the bureaucracy set up a peasant state. According to us, this conception confuses the question of the state, the epoch and the dialectic of the class struggle in the imperialist epoch.

The imperialist epoch does not allow a petty bourgeois dictatorship

The Marxist strategy has to start from the characterization of the epoch. The imperialist epoch develops based on a world economy and this is the material basis of the class struggle. The proletariat as an international class is in opposition to imperialism. Imperialism can allow transitional situations for a short time. For example dual power, or semi-independent countries can exist temporarily, but you are not talking about a transitory situation but a bourgeois democratic revolution and the creation of a petty bourgeois dictatorship.

The epoch of great democratic revolutions has passed. With the creation of a world economy capitalism has unified the class interests of all exploiters. The exploiters of the imperialist countries have their junior partners in the developing countries. The petty bourgeoisie have shown that they are incapable of replacing the bourgeoisie in order to resolve the problems of the democratic revolution that still remain in the developing countries, just as the bourgeoisie are incapable of completing the democratic revolution. There are plenty of examples; the petty bourgeois democrats, the Mensheviks of the past, are typical of the parties that form the left wing of the WSF and kneel down before imperialism and their junior partners.

The petty bourgeoisie is impotent because it consists of many splits and currents, like the peasantry. It is a class that contains the remnants of the pre-capitalist epoch squashed between the two main classes of capitalist society, the working class and the bourgeoisie. The only thing it can do is to choose between two paths: to side with the bourgeoisie or for its most exploited layers to form an alliance with the proletariat. This is why the petty bourgeoisie cannot impose a class dictatorship. The only time in history it did so briefly in 1793 to open the road to the political rule of the French bourgeoisie.

In this class struggle the revolution does not allow intermediate stages since this would mean the abortion of the revolution. There are no "peasant revolutions", i.e. "democratic revolutions" that lead the petty bourgeoisie to power. The historical experience has shown that if democratic revolutions are not turned into socialist revolutions then they end in defeat. Thus Lenin and the Third International drew the lessons of the impossibility of an intermediate democratic revolution:

"In a bourgeois society with already developed class antagonisms there can only be either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, open or disguised,

or the dictatorship of the proletariat. There cannot be any talk of an intermediate regime. Every democracy, every 'dictatorship of democracy' (the ironical quotation marks are Lenin's) is only a veil for the rule of the bourgeoisie, as the experience of the most backward European country, Russia, showed in the epoch of its bourgeois revolution, i.e., the epoch most favorable to the 'dictatorship of democracy'". (Permanent Revolution chapter 7)

"12. ... in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. **Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamenations. That is borne out by more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy in the working-class movement in all the advanced countries, and notably by the experience of the past five years.** This is also borne out by the whole science of political economy, by the entire content of Marxism, which reveals the economic inevitability, wherever commodity economy prevails, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that can only be replaced by the class which the very growth of capitalism develops, multiplies, welds together and strengthens; that is, the proletarian class." (Bold ours) (Thesis and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat March 4, 1919)

There are three determined classes: the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. But only the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are a social force that can impose their will when the class struggle sharpens. The international class struggle has proven this theoretical position. Drawing lessons of the Chinese revolution in 1925-1927, the Trotskyist left Opposition could define that in the developing countries: "*the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.*"

Trotsky defined in his thesis of the "permanent revolution" the auxiliary role that the peasant had in the proletariat revolution. And he denied in his thesis 5: "*However, the latter showed, and under circumstances that exclude any kind of misinterpretation, that no matter how great the revolutionary role of the peasantry may be, it nevertheless cannot be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois. This means that the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' is only conceivable as a dictatorship of the proletariat that leads the peasant masses behind it.*" (Bold ours).

And in the thesis 6 he stated on the peasant role and the impossibility of a petty bourgeois state and intermediate dictatorship. "*A democratic dictatorship of the proletariat*

and peasantry, as a regime that is distinguished from the dictatorship of the proletariat by its class content, might be realized only in a case where an independent revolutionary party could be constituted, expressing the interests of the peasants and in general of petty bourgeois democracy – a party capable of conquering power with this or that degree of aid from the proletariat, and of determining its revolutionary program. As all modern history attests – especially the Russian experience of the last twenty-five years – an insurmountable obstacle on the road to the creation of a peasants' party is the petty-bourgeoisie's lack of economic and political independence and its deep internal differentiation. By reason of this the upper sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (of the peasantry) go along with the big bourgeoisie in all decisive cases, especially in war and in revolution; the lower sections go along with the proletariat; the intermediate section being thus compelled to choose between the two extreme poles. Between Kerenskyism and Bolshevik power, between the Kuomintang and the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is not and cannot be any intermediate stage, that is, no democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants". (Bold ours).

That is to say, only the Chinese working class leading the poor peasant was able to expropriate the bourgeoisie and lead this revolution to the victory. The Chinese revolution was not an intermediate revolution of the petty bourgeois peasantry. It was a proletarian revolution. The imperialist epoch does not allow the existence of transitory states that are neither bourgeois nor proletarian. The proletariat is the only revolutionary force. Its exploited allies like the semi-proletarian layers of the countryside and the city do not have enough class forces to advance the struggle against imperialism. The imperialist epoch does not allow a state of the petty bourgeoisie. It does not allow it because the petty bourgeoisie does not have the independence nor class power to confront imperialism.

What class interests did Chinese state defend after 1949?

A state responds, beyond the party in the government, to the class it represents. A bourgeois Bonapartist government or regime, even when it acts against particular bourgeois class parties or capitalists, always represents and defends the bourgeoisie as a whole. Bonapartism and fascism are just examples of that. Fascism, for example, applied state-ism and created a police dictatorship that made bourgeois parties illegal. But they never stopped defending the bourgeoisie as a whole.

The Chinese state did not defend the "peasants" as a whole because there is no unitary peasantry. Peasants as well as petty bourgeoisie are divided in layers, on one hand, the peasants that exploit some workers or other poor peasants who rent the land. On the other hand are the poor peasants who do not exploit anybody. There are semi-proletarian peasants who rent or sell their labor power in seasonal employment. This analysis can be found in the

Agrarian thesis of the Second Congress of the International Communist.

What layer of the peasants defended the Chinese state that came to power in 1949? As far as we know the state nationalized the land, ended the private property of the rich peasants, organized collective farms, i.e. it did the same as the USSR did in one step. It was on the side of the poor and semi-proletarian peasants. But in order to give the poor peasants the collective farms it had to expropriate the whole bourgeoisie. The peasant needed and demanded the land and the end of the exploitation by the landlord. In order to do that the proletariat had to state-ize the banks, impose the monopoly of foreign trade, nationalize industry i.e. the democratic revolution was combined with the socialist revolution.

While the poor peasant and semi proletarian peasantry exist, it is possible that democratic reforms of a certain kind can be made for some years short of a full socialist program. This happened in 1917 when Bolsheviks carried out the program of the socialist-revolutionaries. Thus collective farms that do not belong to the state are a concession to the peasantry. The Maoist program for the masses combined democratic-revolutionary reforms with socialist ones.

The combinations of the tasks and the existence of a state that has such a program, does not imply that it is a state with a mixed class character. In 1919, Lenin stated that USSR that had not yet collectivized land was a workers state. Meanwhile the dictatorship of proletariat ruled and the concessions that the proletariat was forced to make falling short of a socialist program does not change the class character of the dictatorship. Remember that following the seizure of power in Russia Kautsky kept saying that in the USSR there was neither socialism nor the dictatorship of proletariat. He said that in October there was a mutiny of soldiers and a peasants' government. He used the facts of October to hide its class character.

The problem of China's national democratic revolution could not be solved by the bourgeoisie let alone the peasantry. The agrarian question was solved through the agrarian revolution, and national unity and freedom from imperialism was won only by the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the class interests that the Chinese state defended after 1949 were proletarian.

On State capitalism:

After the general reflections on the impossibility of a petty bourgeois dictatorship, a petty bourgeois state, we want to make some contributions on so-called State Capitalism. In "The Revolution Betrayed" Trotsky defined what 'state capitalism' was and he distinguished it from the capitalist state itself. As it is an important issue in this debate, we want to quote it exactly:

"An attempt has been made to conceal the enigma of the Soviet regime by calling it "state capitalism." This term has the advantage that nobody knows exactly what it means. The term "state capitalism" originally arose to designate all the phenomena which arise when a bourgeois state takes direct charge of the means of transport or of

i n d u s t r i a l enterprises. The very necessity of such measures is one of the signs that the productive forces have outgrown capitalism and are bringing it to a partial self-negation in practice. But the outworn system, along with its elements of self-negation, continues to exist as a capitalist system.



Theoretically, to be sure, it is possible to conceive a situation in which the bourgeoisie as a whole constitutes itself a stock company which, by means of its state, administers the whole national economy. The economic laws of such a regime would present no mysteries. A single capitalist, as is well known, receives in the form of profit, not that part of the surplus value which is directly created by the workers of his own enterprise, but a share of the combined surplus value created throughout the country proportionate to the amount of his own capital. Under an integral "state capitalism", this law of the equal rate of profit would be realized, not by devious routes – that is, competition among different capitals – but immediately and directly through state bookkeeping. Such a regime never existed, however, and, because of profound contradictions among the proprietors themselves, never will exist – the more so since, in its quality of universal repository of capitalist property, the state would be too tempting an object for social revolution.

During the war, and especially during the experiments in fascist economy, the term "state capitalism" has most often been understood to mean a system of state interference and regulation. The French employ a much more suitable term for this **etatism**. There are undoubtedly points of contact between state capitalism and "state-ism", but taken as systems they are opposite rather than identical. **State capitalism means the substitution of state property for private property, and for that very reason remains partial in character.** State-ism, no matter where in Italy, Mussolini, in Germany, Hitler, in America, Roosevelt, or in France, Leon Blum – means state intervention on the basis of private property, and with the goal of preserving it. Whatever be the programs of the government, stateism inevitably leads to a transfer of the damages of the decaying system from strong shoulders to weak. It "rescues" the small proprietor from complete ruin only to the extent that his existence is necessary for the preservation of big property. **The planned measures of stateism are dictated not by the demands of a development of the productive forces, but by a concern for the preservation of private property at the expense of the productive forces, which are in revolt against it. State-ism means applying brakes to the development of technique, supporting unviable enterprises, perpetuating parasitic social strata. In a word, state-ism is completely reactionary in character.**

The words of Mussolini: "Three-fourths of Italian economy, industrial and agricultural, is in the hands of the state" (May 26, 1934), are not to be taken literally. The fascist state is not an owner of enterprises, but only an intermediary between their owners. These two things are not identical. **Popolo d'Italia** says on this subject: "The corporative state directs and integrates the economy, but does not run it ('dirige e porta alla unita l'economia, ma non fa l'economia, non gestisce'), which, with a monopoly of production, would be nothing but collectivism." (June 11, 1936)

Toward the peasants and small proprietors in general, the fascist bureaucracy takes the attitude of a threatening lord and master. Toward the capitalist magnates, that of a first plenipotentiary. "The corporative state," correctly writes the Italian Marxist, Feroci, "is nothing but the sales clerk of monopoly capital ... Mussolini takes upon the state the whole risk of the enterprises, leaving to the industrialists the profits of exploitation." And Hitler in this respect follows in the steps of Mussolini. **The limits of the planning principle, as well as its real content, are determined by the class dependence of the fascist state. It is not a question of increasing the power of man over nature in the interests of society, but of exploiting society in the interests of the few. "If I desired," boasts**

Mussolini, "to establish in Italy – which really has not happened – state capitalism or state socialism, I should possess today all the necessary and adequate objective conditions." All except one: the expropriation of the class of capitalists. In order to realize this condition, fascism would have to go over to the other side of the barricades – "which really has not happened" to quote the hasty assurance of Mussolini, and, of course, will not happen. To expropriate the capitalists would require other forces, other cadres and other leaders.

The first concentration of the means of production in the hands of the state to occur in history was achieved by the proletariat with the method of social revolution, and not by capitalists with the method of state trustification. Our brief analysis is sufficient to show how absurd are the attempts to identify capitalist state-ism with the Soviet system. The former is reactionary, the latter progressive." (The Revolution Betrayed Chapter 9)

Thus, let's make the following conclusions:

The "integral" state capitalism does not exist, since the huge differences between layers of the bourgeoisie would not allow such a concentration of capital in the hands of the state. Only the proletariat with its own dictatorship of class is able to concentrate the means of production through its class dictatorship.

What it has existed in history is state-ism. In the '30s, fascism and the "democratic" imperialism used it; and we can see it today in the nationalization of the bankrupt Fanny Mae and Lehman. We have seen it in the bourgeois nationalizations of Peron, Nasser, Salvador Allende, Velasco in Peru, etc., that was a way to bargain with imperialism for a fatter slice of the profits.

On this last question let's think about the issue. You say state capitalism. Thus in China after 1949 a bourgeoisie put into practice a form of state-ism? Yet in China the banks, industry, and foreign trade was nationalized and a planned economy was imposed. A national bourgeoisie does not do this. The petty bourgeois peasantry afraid of the finance capital is unable to do this. Forced by exceptional circumstances, the petty bourgeois leadership of the Chinese CP did it against their will driven by the poor peasants and the workers. But this is a historical exception.

China: from the civil war to the workers state. The proletariat's role

The question of whether the peasantry took power or not it is an historical issue we must analyze seriously. This is a historical problem all petty bourgeois and bourgeois historians and reformists have obscured. Isaac Deutscher in the 1950s in his biography of Trotsky followed the bourgeoisie and adopted the Maoist position that the

peasantry took power and then developed capitalism in preparation for socialism. Maoism in the name of the theory of stageism tied the hands of millions of Asian revolutionary workers in popular fronts causing terrible defeats such as in Indonesia in 1965. The biggest Maoist party in the world with the leadership of the union made pacts with the nationalist Government which prepared a fascist coup which cost the lives of millions workers.

We are not comparing your positions with the ones of Deutscher, Cliff, etc. but thinking about and discussing our differences between revolutionaries.

We have to say together with Trotsky, that from 1920, capitalism had entered into the old villages in China and since then it wasn't anymore a semi feudal nation ("The permanent revolution"). This means the emergence of an agrarian proletariat, semi proletarian layers and poor peasantry. "The population in China has 80% of peasants, and 20% of them are the owners of the land. They were landowners on a Chinese scale but not on a European scale. The landless peasants were employed as agrarian workers or they rented a plot at a very high cost. As the land owners represented the Authority, it was easy for them to avoid taxes, personal payments and the military service that fell back onto farmers and agricultural workers' shoulders...when the peasants sold the harvest, the prices magically dropped and when they wanted to buy seeds they suddenly increased. The result: the peasantry was always in debt and with no possibility of getting back of its feet." (L.M. Chassin, *The Conquest of China by Mao*, 1952). The civil war didn't develop on a feudal basis but on a backward capitalist basis. Sectors of agrarian workers were in the CP and that was the reason an agrarian revolution rapidly took place in the territories conquered by Mao's army, sweeping away the capitalist landowners

To define precisely the Chinese question we have to start from the objective conditions of the revolution. At the end of 1940 the withdrawal of the Japanese occupation troops had left the nation in a state of ruin. Industry was in bankruptcy and a massive migration of hundreds of millions of poor landless peasants took place, looking for work in the cities where they could only join the rising number of unemployed in the enormous industrial reserve army. These ruined landless peasants, became into unemployed workers in the cities. This forced them into a political struggle for survival. They were the motor of the revolution and the basis of the consolidation of Mao as leader. They were the masses which led him to go further than his own interests. It was clearly a proletarian revolution. The nationalization of the land solved the agrarian question and such a task cannot be fulfilled by the peasants in general. The proletariat leading the ruined poor peasants solved the problem of the land. And even today, the new bourgeoisie in China in spite of capitalist restoration couldn't destroy historically that gain of the ex-workers state.

Here there is confusion between Mao taking of power and the existence or not of a workers state. If we carefully look at the first thing Mao did, it was to set up a popular front government, as also happened in Cuba. A bourgeois

provisional government with the bourgeoisie's ghost (the widow of SunYat Sen, some leaders of the Kuomintang who had fallen out with Chiang Kai Shek) because in the civil war the majority of the bourgeoisie was on Chiang's side. The expropriations only came later when Mao was forced to do so by the workers and peasants. As in Cuba, the workers and the exploited masses took advantage of the civil war which had destroyed the old regime, had split the bourgeois army - the fundamental base of the State. On their way to expropriate the bourgeoisie they threw in the garbage dump the Maoist program of "New Democracy" for a "pro-worker popular capitalism" etc. They did what Marx had said in 1857: "Supported by the peasants' civil war" they expropriated the bourgeoisie on the road to the Socialist Revolution. We think it is incorrect to say the proletariat didn't play any role in the Chinese revolution because it didn't end in 1949. It had only opened the road to the expropriation to the bourgeoisie and imperialism demanded by the proletariat. If the proletariat and semi-proletariat hadn't existed, the seizure of power would have been similar to that in Mexico when Villa and Zapata entered the city with their peasants' army and then returned to their farms because they didn't know what to do. There wasn't a proletariat, it came up later. In China in 1949 a proletariat existed and it was that which forced the Chinese PC to go forward in the way that is explained in the program of the IV International as an historical exception.

The Chinese Workers State was formed in the process from the victory of Mao's guerrillas in the civil war to the moment of the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It wasn't peaceful. After defeating the fascist Chiang in the civil war, with whom Mao had made many pacts during the war, a provisional government with a dual power character was established. The dual power represented the masses in arms including the agrarian workers and the agrarian semi-proletariat who expropriated all the landowners allied with the fascist Chiang. As soon as they entered the cities, the workers rebelled against the regime and joined the fight in 1949 expelling Chiang's troops from Shanghai and forcing the provisional government of Mao to nationalize the pro-Chiang bourgeoisie as "bureaucratic capitalism". In 1950 the US troops in Korea were preparing to invade China and restore Chiang to power. The workers in Korea defeated the US troops and at the same moment China invaded Korea. The Agrarian capitalists were hanged and shot by the masses in arms. The Chinese revolution wasn't "Chinese", it was an Asian revolution, and Korean workers' victory was a big impulse to push the Chinese revolution to take a socialist character.

Since 1949, the revolutionary poor workers and peasants had expropriated the Chinese bourgeoisie aligned to Chiang. By 1952 the State had expropriated all the banks, 80% of heavy industry, the 50% of light industry and the railways. In 1953 on the basis of the expropriation of the means of production means and monopoly of foreign trade, the first five-year plan began creating a planned economy of a Workers' State.

The exceptional conditions of the Chinese Revolution do not deny the counterrevolutionary role played by the Chinese bureaucracy. They did everything to prevent the Chinese revolution from becoming internationalized. Mao himself ordered the workers not to move forward to expel the US troops from Korea and promoted the Stalinist popular front policy in Asia. One of the terrible consequences for the proletariat and the exploited peasants was the massacre of the biggest Maoist party in the world in Indonesia in 1965 where Mao negotiated to sell out of the disarmed masses to the fascist coup. It took decades for the Vietnamese proletariat to expel the US invasion and it was the popular front supported by Peking was responsible for this war and its terrible destruction of Vietnam. In China the bureaucracy of the CP rapidly dominated the masses, smashing them with its bureaucratic control. This was not inevitable. There was a Chinese section of the Fourth International, but the IV International became centrist and impotent in the face of the popular front.

A deformed Workers State

From our point of view, we define the Chinese Workers' State as deformed on the basis of the character of the political regime - that is to say the Stalinist Thermidorian bureaucracy - and not the social relations. Both degenerated and deformed Workers States were workers states because of the social relations. The proletarian dictatorship was established and the bourgeoisie had been expropriated. Soviet Russia was a Workers State from the beginning because it had a revolutionary leadership, the Bolshevik party. The expropriation of the revolutionary leadership by the Stalinist bureaucracy transformed the state, in the sense of the political regime, into a bureaucratic workers state, that is, a degenerated State.

In our opinion the Chinese revolution was a workers' socialist revolution. The triumph of Chinese revolution, in the postwar period was one of the exceptions predicted by Trotsky as a theoretical hypothesis in the Transitional Program. In China like in ex-Yugoslavia, because of exceptional conditions at the end of the war, the masses made revolutions, expropriated the bourgeoisie and forced the Stalinist leaderships of Mao Tse Tung and Tito to go

much further than they wanted in the break with the bourgeoisie. This way, the deformed worker states were born led by counterrevolutionary leaderships from the beginning which emerged out of the revolution itself. This was different from the Russian revolution where the Stalinist bureaucracy arose from a Thermidorian bureaucratic counterrevolution as a result of the delay in the world revolution and because the Russian masses were exhausted and many of the Bolshevik vanguard killed during the civil war.

China, Cuba, etc are the exceptions raised by Trotsky in the Transitional Program: "Under the influence of extremely exceptional conditions (war, defeats, financial crisis, revolutionary mass pressure, etc) the petty bourgeois parties, even the Stalinist parties, can be forced to go much further than they want to go in breaking with the bourgeoisie "and to establish Workers and Peasants governments, "a brief episode towards the real proletariat dictatorship". This is what happened in China, where the Stalinist leadership of the CP went much further than it wanted in its break with the bourgeoisie, becoming Deformed Workers States from the moment of their birth.

The Chinese working class took the power after two revolutions -the first one in 1925-1927 and the second in 1949- in spite of and against their Stalinist leadership. We say you are wrong when you say the Chinese proletariat never ruled as a proletarian dictatorship. On the contrary, it was the only class capable of taking power and ruled as a



proletariat dictatorship through a Stalinist petty bourgeoisie leadership which was forced to much further than it wanted, leading the peasants it expropriated the bourgeoisie, imposed the planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade monopoly and national independence. A transitional regime was imposed until the Stalinist bureaucracy changed into restorationist bureaucracy in the '80s and the transitional regime from capitalism to socialism was interrupted. The proletariat dictatorship was abolished. This counterrevolution wasn't pacific. The political revolution process was defeated in 1989 at the cost of millions of deaths.

We believe we don't have to take categories such as the Workers State as something fixed and unchangeable, something schematic. For example the agrarian workers

unions of Trujillo were organized and led by the NGOs at the start. This doesn't meet the ideal of unions founded "heroically" in the struggles for the 8 hour day or against the military dictatorship in the 1970s. So do we reject these unions that are not born pure? Are they just part of the NGOs? If we think dialectically we don't consider the deformed character of these unions as proof that they are not workers organizations. We have to remember comrades that every union now is born deformed, under the influence of the CGTP, talking about "RSE" ("Social Responsibility of the Company"), wanting to be partners with the bosses' for 'fair shares'. They don't even speak about classes. However in spite of this we still consider these organizations to be unions.

The old workers state of China like the unions of the workers of the agro- industry of Trujillo, was born in a deformed way. The difference was that the advisors of the NGO thought they could make brilliant careers in the bourgeois regime. The Chinese bureaucrats however, were forced to abolish the bourgeois regime in the middle of enormous historical events under the pressure of the working class and the poor peasants under exceptional conditions.

The need of an International center, yesterday and today

Finally, when you state that: "...what is unquestionable is that based on the concept of the deformed worker state "orthodox Trotskyism" distorted and even "refuted" the theory of permanent revolution to justify its adaptation to Stalinist and petty-bourgeois politics of nationalism..."

To recognize the character of Workers' State or not was in itself not enough to cause the centrist Fourth International to capitulate before Stalinism. In 1963, for example, Mandel and Hansen reunited on the basis of the recognition of Cuba as a Workers' State. Lambert and Healy denied that character and kept their International Committee. That did not prevent the IC from serving Stalinism as much as the United Secretariat of Mandel-Hansen. For example, that IC supported Guillermo Lora when he betrayed in the revolution of 1971 by adapting to the Stalinist program, supporting General Torres and capitulating before bourgeois nationalism. Then, Healy broke with Lora and Lambert to prostrate himself before the Arab bourgeoisie like the Stalinist-Castroists of FPLP and FDLP.

The question on the deformed worker state was a discovery of the Unified Secretariat. More than that, it was a description of reality. Mandel and Hansen sometimes were able to describe a fact by blowing their noses. From that fact, of course, they did not draw the conclusion of the need for a political revolution. They transformed the exceptional revolutions led by petty bourgeois or Stalinist leaderships into a rule, and that led them to capitulate before every counterrevolutionary petty bourgeois or Stalinist leadership. The result was the treacherous defeat of 99% of the revolutionary uprisings of that period at the hands of Stalinism and its counterrevolutionary popular front.

We believe that the degeneration of the Fourth International had little to do with wrong theories. According to Trotsky, Bukharin produced a grotesque "theory" every week but this did not finish in catastrophe for the Third International. The inevitable errors made by all the Bolsheviks were corrected by a democratic discussion and a common practice of the international center whose core was Lenin and Trotsky.

If an International center had continued to exist after WW 2, it would have been possible to arrive at a Marxist theory about what happened in China since 1949 through theoretical discussion informed by practice. But instead of that, the Fourth during and at the end of the war dissolved its international centre so could not play a decisive role in China in 1949 thus leaving the Chinese section isolated and betrayed. The role that a Chinese section could have played within the democratic centralism of a Fourth International with a revolutionary center only can be imagined. The great opportunity that the Chinese masses would have offered to Trotskyism could not have been surpassed. Chinese Trotskyism was known by the factory workers and had learned the lessons of 1925-1927. But it was not enough to rest on its laurels. Had a real Leninist democratic centralism existed, the Chinese section could have been guided in the new situation to organize a fraction of revolutionary and internationalist workers against Mao. The crime against the Chinese working class was that a revolutionary center did not exist. Hansen, Cannon, Mandel, and Pablo forgave each other for this betrayal and for abandoning the international center and the national sections with their capitulation to chauvinism in the war. They already started their romance with Tito, then with Mao, and years later with Castro, saying that those counterrevolutionary bureaucrats were centrist even unconscious revolutionaries. From a Pabloist-Cannonist centrist center (they did not split till 1953), the Chinese section was unable to get a authentically Trotskyist leadership.

Well, comrades, sorry for this long first reflection but we consider it necessary to give the foundation of our position on the former workers states question to be able to continue the debate. Anyway, we attach a supplement of the IWO that talks about the situation in East Europe, Russia, and China facing the world crisis and also on the '89 historical processes. This material will help in the debate.

These are some comments on your letter and we expect your response to these to further the debate among revolutionaries.

Internationalist greetings,

LAURA SANCHEZ, RAFA CRUZ, ANIBAL VERA AND ROQUE
SANCHEZ
OF SCI-FLTI.

Resolutions of the First Congress of the ILTF

Resolutions on Iran and Middle East



The Iranian Revolution, 1979

The Congress of the ILTF stated:

1. The situation in Iran clearly reflects one of the main historical contradictions the world situation has entered at this current juncture of the class struggle. The world economic crisis has reduced the share of profit available to imperialism and likewise that available for its junior partners, the national bourgeoisie, in this case Iran's.

In order to satisfy a bankrupt US imperialism's innate quest for profit, the battle for spheres of influence has resulted in a political crisis in Iran placing the masses under attacks, both economic and political. Imperialism views Iran and the entire Middle East as more than a prize but an essential acquisition to maintain its position of dominance. Two different fractions of the Iranian national bourgeoisie; Ahmadinejad currently in power and Mousavi are facing off for the right to play junior partner to Imperialism.

2. With the metaphorical phrase of Obama: "I offer my hand to the Muslim world", US imperialism launched its offensive in the Middle East. Obama can only succeed in legitimating US imperialism's attacks on Iran (just as on

Palestine, Pakistan and Afghanistan) by putting on his democratic mask.

3. US imperialism is attempting to extend the counterrevolutionary pacts in the region, to Iran. The true role of these pacts is to impose attacks on the revolutionary and anti imperialist masses across the Middle East. These pacts are meant to cover and support its interest and power during one of the worst crisis US imperialism has faced. Obama seeks to extend to Iran the same type of pact that defused the Iraqi resistance, tying the Shiite and Sunni elites together in the protectorate government, the counterrevolutionary pact between Siniora-Hezbollah in Lebanon and the pact of the Sharm Sheik in Egypt which was initiated to smash the Palestinian masses in Gaza.

4. French imperialism which was able to advance into its disputed zones of influence (or plunder) previously controlled by US imperialism in the Middle East, was forced to concede to the dominant imperialist power and make a provisional pact in the region to move forward together with a common policy to take over the areas of influence of its

rivals, in particular German and Japanese imperialism. The USA, along with its European partners, are trying to fully regain Iran by negotiating using French commercial relations with Iran. At the moment US imperialism is limited to secret deals with the Iranian regime and acting indirectly through Chinese oil companies, such as CNOOC, in which US imperialism has a shareholding in. The crisis of surplus capital without sufficient grounds for plunder, forces US imperialism to push forward for a more direct and greater stake in Iran. The demagogic threats and counter-threats between the Iranian and Israeli regime helps give legitimacy to the ruling Iranian bonapart, Khomeini. (Israel has good arms sales to Iran, while the US supplied weapons to both Iran and Iraq in the 8 year war).

5. The shape the US counteroffensive takes is a classic good cop bad cop approach. It presents its democratic façade, a likening back to the New Deal, while at the same time launching the most brutal military attacks on the workers, from Bonapartist military coups and authoritarianism of all forms up to and including releasing the shock troops of Fascism into the fray. The "New Deal" is Obama saying that he wants to negotiate with the national bourgeoisie in the Middle East, while looking toward launching "orange" counter-revolutions in the name of democracy, like in Iran with Mousavi, advocating the policy of two states in the occupied Palestine, and so on. At the same time, and in a different way, the hidden face of Obama is adopting the threat of bonapartism and fascistic attacks that the gendarme in the region, the Zionist state of Israel, has used as a counterrevolutionary break on the revolutionary upsurges of the Palestine masses and all the people in the Middle East. At the same time, Obama uses the most brutal means, in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan to defeat the working classes, to keep them in total subjugation.

6. In order to extract every last drop of oil from Iran, US imperialism must destroy the political independence of Iran and secure a pliable leadership willing to crush the masses and a section of the Iranian bourgeoisie. Even though the Iranian bourgeoisie proved it could be loyal to world finance capital, by expropriating and smashing the shoras (independent workers councils) of 1979 they could maintain a relative political independence by nationalization of large sectors of the economy, constitutionally banning privatization and setting up a monopoly of foreign trade, under their control. Up to now the small bourgeoisie, the base of the clerical bonapart, parasitized on the nationalized sectors. The clerical and bazaari bourgeoisie have served their part for imperialism by crushing the workers' revolution of 1979; now imperialism needs direct control of the spoils of the Iranian economy.

7. Up to now the ayatollah fraction of the national bourgeoisie, heading the Bonapartist sui generis regime, has allowed imperialism a share the oil rent. The ayatollahs could do this only by controlling and manipulating the

nationalist sentiment of the masses. The ayatollah regime blackmailed imperialism to take a smaller share of the oil rent by threatening to mobilize the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses.

8. Within this aspect of the Iranian State, a sector of the bourgeoisie headed by Ahmadinejad (the Clerical and bazaari) plays junior partner of the French, US and German imperialists and to a smaller degree the Japanese imperialists. They gave super profit from oil rent through investment like joint ventures. In order get past this crisis US imperialism needs to grab everything, starting with the Iranian oil. For that reason it recruited as a junior partner the fraction of the bourgeoisie headed by Mousavi, who makes accusations of electoral fraud under the name of democracy while promoting the opening of economic ties which will ultimately give preference to US/French imperialist bloc, mainly the US imperialist) breaking the French/German bloc and cutting out the Japanese and German imperialists.

9. The Ahmadinejad fraction, like the national bourgeoisie as a whole, is weak and needs to contain the anti imperialist sentiment of the Iranian masses (to this end it poses as an arbiter between the main contending classes: the Iranian working class and bourgeois class aligned to imperialism). When its government and private property are threatened, the bourgeoisie are always aligned with imperialism, as is Ahmadinejad. When the crisis started, the Iranian Ayatollah bourgeoisie launched attacks on the living conditions of the exploited masses for example the inflation rate is now close to 30% and unemployment is wavering around 40%. In order to impose imperialism's plan for super-exploitation against the proletariat, the Bonapartist regime needed to use terror methods against the masses. At the time the Iraqi anti imperialist resistance was advancing in May 2008 in Basra, the national bourgeoisie was making a pact to support US imperialism. The same was done by the Shiite bourgeoisie in the region, which didn't send armies or militia to fight imperialism in Gaza. Because of their fear of the possibility of an independent working class uprising in Iran, the Mousavi fraction didn't make a call to the masses to mobilize and stood by while the masses were repressed so that they could negotiate with the Ahmanidejad's fraction over how best to smash the masses and stop the revolution. All this explains why Mousavi, who previously served as a direct agent of the bonapartist regime in the 1980's, over seeing the killing of 30 000 activists, is today serving as a junior partner of US imperialism providing it with the mask of 'democracy' to strangle the Iranian proletariat's struggles. Mousavi stands for nothing but exploitation and oppression of the Iranian nation by imperialism, not only Iran but also in the entire Middle East.

10. The working class, feeling the pressure of the imperialist initiated economic attack on its standard of living has begun its fight back against the Ayatollahs regime and

the bourgeoisie. However the mass mobilization against the "electoral fraud" led by the US favorite, Mousavi, represents a electoral diversion of this struggle against the regime.

11. The class struggle, even in the form of this political crisis, with an historic mobilization, workers strikes and student occupations, raises the possibility of an independent and generalized mass upsurge. However, the policy of the "democratic front" of the treacherous



leadership, like the different currents of Stalinism and the fake Trotskyists, like the IMT, sold out the struggle to Mousavi, and thus to US imperialism. (The IMT calls for support of the movement against the 'electoral fraud' "despite its leaders", lamenting the lack of workers support).

As Regards the role of the WSF and its left wing in containing the Iranian masses, the congress of the IFLT stated:

1. Inter-imperialist rivalry, heightened by the economic crisis, and the new transitional US/French agreement to go on the offensive together in the Middle East in order to subordinate Iran as a semi-colony, to be successful must defeat the Bonapartist sui generis regime that has maintained Iran's relative political independence as a consequence of the revolution of 1979 for thirty years. This allows Obama to masquerade as the aloof "democrat", calling for fresh elections, while at the same time Chavez declares the bonapartist Ahmadinijad's regime to be the winner. Chavez this time plays the role of the "tyrant" to Obama's "democrat"; Chavez siding with Ahmadinijad and pushing for him to have talks with Obama. In so doing Chavez is cementing his role as servant to US imperialism

during the emerging inter-imperialist rivalry. The real goal of the proposed talks are to assure Iran concedes its independence as a junior partner of imperialism. Such a settlement with US/French imperialism would be at the expense of German and Japanese imperialism. Thus Chavez is taking the side of Obama and US imperialism to impose a defeat on German imperialism and its allies, at the expense of the Iranian and Middle Eastern masses.

2. But the price to the exploited masses, if the Bonapartist regime makes a pact with Obama, will be much greater semi-colonial oppression. To keep their share of the plunder the national bourgeoisie will put the costs of the crisis on to the Iranian masses. Despite having relative political independence, Iran is still a semi-colony, dependent on world imperialism: 83% of exports are crude oil while it still has to import 40% of its oil requirements. The regime justifies its share of the imperialist plunder by blaming the US and UK imperialists and capturing the anti imperialist sentiment of the masses. On the side, secretly, the trade with US imperialism continues, albeit on a small scale. But the regime's pro-imperialist role is becoming more and more exposed, through the continued hunger and oppression

of the masses. Any open pact between Iran and the US/France would delegitimize the Ayatollahs. To prevent this Chavez uses his authority as political head of the World Social Forum (WSF) Menshevik international to support the military Bonapartism of Ahmadinijad to repress the masses. That is why Chavez said on Alo Presidente on 21 June, "We send a greeting to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran's great president, to Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and to the Iranian people. We ask the world to respect Iran because they are trying to undermine the Iranian revolutions strength".

3. This shows that Latin American Bonapartist Chavez recognises his class interests are the same as the Islamic Bonapartist Ahmadinijad, and the imperialist bourgeois US President Obama. Chavez promotes the reformist illusion that the Bolivarian bloc of states aligned to China, Iran etc can negotiate with "democratic" US imperialism to prevent the worst costs of the crisis from being imposed on the colonies, semicolonies and independent countries. It doesn't matter to him that the regimes in these countries are Bonapartist dictatorships, since to do a deal with Obama his task is to contain the counteroffensive of the masses against the offensive of US imperialism and its allies. Thus he acts to deliver the masses to Obama's 'New Deal' and a 'multi-polar' world while Obama prepares the fascist counteroffensive.

4. Chavez's support of Ahmadinejad cannot impose the crisis on the masses and stop their counteroffensive without the left wing of the World Social Forum coming to his rescue. In 1979 the 'left' played a major role in propping up Khomeini, the main counter-revolutionary agent within the revolution. The left then landed up being a left-pressure to Khomeini, who still, within 4 years executed over 30 000 activists (including the very 'left' that supported him earlier), and subjected hundreds of thousands to massacre in the 8 year long Iran-Iraq war (a crucial mechanism by imperialism to crush anything that remained of the Iranian revolutionaries). What appears as the 'left's' support of 'reformism' in peacetime, in times of revolution, turns into support of counter-revolution. It is not for nothing that Lenin wrote in *STATE AND REVOLUTION* that upon achievement of a bourgeois democracy the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie lose their revolutionism. In the context of the permanent revolution, this means that the driving force to complete the democratic programme, has to be the working class independently organized of the middle and capitalist classes. Thus the 'left' landed up being a left face of the Stalinist 2-stages approach with the same bloody consequences for the proletariat. Further, Ted Grant, instead of calling for workers militant action in the imperialist centres, called for 'non-interference' - at the very time that imperialism was 'interfering' by building up Khomeini for his counter-revolutionary role. With the Militant of Ted Grant embedded then in the British Labour Party, this call for 'non-interference' was subordinated to this imperialist bourgeois party. Today Chavez, being carried on the shoulders of the fake left, props up the clerical bonapartist regime of Khomeini-Ahmadinejad. The main supporter of Chavez today happens to be the IMT. Those fake Trotskyists who have provided a left cover for the Bolivarian popular fronts and have submitted to Lula, Chavez, Morales etc, strangling the workers revolutions, now have the role of containing those who want to break out of the popular front's, or as in Iran, replace the 'left wing' Bonapartism with a 'democratic' Islamic regime, or keep in place 'left wing' bonapartism but on greater anti-working class terms required by imperialism. But as Chavez moved to the right behind Ahmadinejad, this created a problem for the left wing of the WSF. While they are for Obama's 'New Deal' they are verbally against military Bonapartism. They think that Chavez made a 'mistake' to support Ahmadinejad.

5. The left leg of the WSF, for example the IMT which has a section in Iran, and the LIT, call for a national democratic front in the form of the 'constituent assembly' or a 'democratic revolution'. Their plan is to cover Chavez on the left as he goes to the right. Alan Woods says Chavez has made a 'mistake' in Iran because Iran is an Islamic dictatorship not a revolutionary democratic regime like Venezuela. Therefore, for Woods, it is not possible for the workers to pressure the Iranian regime to the left, as the IMT claims to do with the PSUV. For the IMT it is necessary then to counterpose a Constituent Assembly to create a popular front. Thus Woods can remain the

loyal lieutenant of Chavez in Latin America, while criticising his right Bonapartist position in Iran.

Let us examine some of the 'mistakes' of Chavez: Chavez visited Iran while Ahmedinejad was still mayor of Teheran; he came to erect a statue of Simon Bolivar in the city. Iranian workers wrote to him and begged him not to come and to take a stand against the regime that oppressed workers and denied them basic trade union rights. Chavez came, the statue went up, oil trade with Iran increased. Chavez came again to Iran in 2006. The Iranian Revolutionary Socialist League wrote to him on the 28th July, begging this great 'revolutionary' not to come, worker leaders such as Ossanolou was being jailed and harassed by the state, who even attempted to cut his tongue off. Chavez still came on the 30th July to receive a medal from Ahmedinejad (the highest honour of the anti-worker regime). After the June 'election' this year, Chavez was the first to congratulate Ahmedinejad in a fraudulent election where a religious council decides who can be candidate. All this while the leader of the IMT says: Commandante Chavez listens, he is evolving; Chavez is not a bourgeois, whoever thinks so, they must be extra-terrestrial. All we can say is that for the four times that Chavez has gone to Iran, he has not listened to the voice of the workers. He has not only been propping up the anti-worker Ahmedinejad but containing the struggle of the world proletariat against the reactionary Iranian regime. For someone who is not bourgeois, he has been behaving strangely like one. Maybe extra-terrestrials also have excellent Marxism.

The Iranian and Venezuelan Socialists have a history of writing excellent open letters: you have written to Chavez, you have written to Mousavi, you have written to the Iranian workers. Now we propose that you write another open letter, this time to your own leader, Alan Woods, of the IMT:

- a) You have open access to Chavez, meeting him on islands in Venezuela; as our leader could you please raise with him to stop supporting Ahmedinejad and Khomeini
- b) Could you please ask Chavez why he called for the disarming of the FARC in Colombia and thus helped open the way for 4 new US military bases there? Why did he not call or act for the liberation of the 7500 political prisoners in Colombia?
- c) Why did he not act against the fascists of the Media Luna in Bolivia last year, instead of supporting a pact with them that hands over virtually half the country to them?
- d) Considering that the IMT regards the Venezuela state as capitalist and that the means of production are still in the hands of the oligarchy, and that the PSUV is running this state, why do you insist that nothing exists outside the PSUV and that no revolutionary party should be built outside of the PSUV? The Militant believed that nothing existed outside the ANC (pre-1994) and still today nothing exists outside of the British Labour Party, yet today these are open parties of capitalism and indeed of counter-revolution.

e) Why does the IMT still subject the working class movement to non-proletarian forces?

A note also for the Iranian Socialists: Why did you, after knowing full well that Chavez ignored your open letter, still join the IMT, knowing full well that to them, then and even now after the June elections, he is regarded as a 'honest, anti-imperialist and revolutionary president'?

6. The left leg of the WSI in Iran is tying the hands of the working class in the face of the crisis in the same way that the Stalinists and Castroists also did in 1979. The remnants of the Stalinists current today are no different. For example the WCI raises 10 immediate democratic demands but does not call for socialism. In Iraq in 2004 it called on the UN to replace the US occupiers. Like Tudeh in 1979 this is a program to tie the workers to the 'democratic' bourgeoisie and does not prepare the workers for the insurrection. It does not explain why its 10 immediate demands cannot be won short of socialist revolution. Thus, they are outright enemies of the Permanent Revolution, i.e. they deny the Permanent Revolution, which proclaims that only the proletariat taking power can free a nation from the imperialist yoke.

7. The policy launched by the fake Trotskyites internationally, is to raise up a policy that in one way or another all end up supporting the 'reformist' and "democratic" bourgeoisie (in this way they revive the Stalinist stagiest theory of revolution). The Argentinian PTS, for example, claimed the Mousavi program; "down the electoral fraud!" They assist to chain the spontaneous revolt of the masses on the electoral terrain; they do not even expose a single promise of Mousavi, that he uses to lure the masses to support his pro-US imperialist agenda. That is to say, the leadership crisis does not exist because they are part of it.

LIT does not even call for a stagist revolution and they claim only one democratic revolution. They do not even raise a minimal program and a maximal program as the old Social Democracy, and end up with a miserable democratic program. The Militant does not pose the question of independent workers shoras (councils) in the process of exposure of the parliamentary sham that is forced on the masses.

They are using the policy of constituency assembly as a leash around the masses' neck. As we saw in Bolivia and Ecuador where the masses democratic demands, thanks to the treacherous leadership, were used against them, as the agency tasked with leading the fight for them (the so called revolutionary constituent assembly), was a bourgeois one and not the working class taking power.

Based on this, a program on the Iranian Palestinian and all Middle East program, the congress resolved:

1. Facing the subordination imposed on vast sectors of the working class and usurped by the Mousavi "democratic" front, mobilizing the masses against the "electoral fraud", the Trotskyists must say clearly that the reactionary Ayatollah regime is a fraud regime directed against the working class, the poor peasant and the ruined middle class; it is a terror regime based on the murderous officers caste and the fascist gangs like the "Basijis", and that Mousavi does not plan to challenge this regime.

2. As a task, to promote the Iranian and Middle East workers as leaders of the exploited, and to be the only class able to achieve effectively the democratic tasks raised



in an oppressed nation (as in all the masses demands, such as independence from imperialism and agrarian reform). It is necessary to denounce the coward national bourgeoisie as the junior partner of the imperialism. Only more terror and more attacks on the masses will come by the "democratic" hand of a Mousavi-Obama scenario! Ahmadinejad isn't an anti-imperialist either but a junior partner of the French, US and German oil companies, who guarantee the counterrevolutionary pacts and use the combativity of the masses as a bargaining chip to negotiate its share! The masses are being given over to be slaughtered as in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan-Pakistan by both Mousavi and Ahmadinejad!

3. The struggle for minimal and democratic economic demands have to be brought forward to the political and revolutionary struggles of the working class to seize power, in order to defeat the reactionary regime:

Down with the Bonapartist Ayatollah regime based on the absolute powers of the clerical institutions such as the

Expert Assembly, the Guardians Council of the Revolution, the supreme leader and the official caste of the army!

Break with Mousavi! To get bread, jobs, land for the poor peasants and to achieve all the minimal demands of the masses: Defeat this oppressive regime, to do so we must build up again the "shoras" (workers councils) of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 at a national level. The shoras form up as independent political action councils of workers, poor peasant, rank and file soldiers and combative students, directed by recallable delegates, and they must be armed in order to organize an insurrectional general strike. They will be the organ of self determination and direct democracy of the masses in the struggle. Dissolution of the police! Smash the "Basijis"! Soldiers committees elected democratically to defeat the officer's caste that defends the interest of the entire bourgeoisie! Down with so-called Islamic Justice repressing the working class and the people: for workers and popular tribunals! Down with the laws against the unions: freedom to affiliate and join unions and any working class small peasant and student organizations!

All the Iranian and Middle East worker's organizations must stand up with this program to end all the attacks against the working class of Iran and the entire Middle East only the armed and self organized working class can defeat imperialism and solve the national democratic tasks. Imperialism Out of Iran! Get out of all the oil and gas fields! Hands off all the natural resources of Iran plundered by US, French, German and Japanese butcher imperialists! All the oil and gas companies must be nationalized and placed under worker's control! Shred and do not honor exploitative contracts to the Imperialist oil companies and banks! For confiscation of all the investments of French Total and German Gaspron! For nationalization, without compensation and under worker's control of all the state companies privatized by the Ayatollahs regime and the Ahmadinejad government! Only a workers and poor peasants government can end the chronic unemployment, and massive inflation to unify the workers! To end unemployment and the burden of inflation workers demand a sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of hours!

4. To counter the Mousavi fractions fraudulent program of government reform, calls for formal "democracy" are cynically used to divert the masses struggles from the task of socialist revolution, in a case such as this the tactic of Constituent assembly can be raised to show the limits of bourgeois democracy and to win the masses to the revolutionary perspective. As the Transitional Program said: "This slogan must be indissolubly tied up with the problem of national liberation and agrarian reform. As a primary step, the workers must be armed with this democratic program. Only they will be able to summon and unite the farmers. On the basis of the revolutionary democratic program, it is necessary to oppose the workers to the "national" bourgeoisie. Then, at a certain stage in the mobilization of the masses under the slogans of revolutionary democracy, soviets can and should arise. Their historical role in each



given period, particularly their relation to the National Assembly, will be determined by the political level of the proletariat, the bond between them and the peasantry, and the character of the proletarian party policies. Sooner or later, the soviets should overthrow bourgeois democracy. Only they are capable of bringing the democratic revolution to a conclusion and likewise opening an era of socialist revolution." (Bold ours)

That is to say, in order to break with those fake pacifist illusions, which were cultivated in the working class by the treacherous leaderships in Iran and the WSF, and to allow and to promote the self determination and direct democracy, the armed Shoras must be built as the base of the proletarian dictatorship, the 'workers' and poor peasants' government.

A Constituent Assembly, with a delegate for each 10 thousand inhabitants, earning the salary of a qualified worker, must be challenged to take the task of destroying the clerical institutions which allow the Islamic bourgeoisie the powers of a monarch, breaking all the links that submit the nation to imperialism, and distributing the land to the poor peasants!

But a Constituent Assembly will be incapable of resolving those questions, only under a Workers and Peasant government based on the independent self organization or the workers/peasants/soldiers councils and workers and peasants armed militia can accomplish it, since it will demonstrate to the Iranian workers and peasant, that such a workers' and peasants government will be a million times more democratic than any of the bourgeois republics, or any Constituent Assembly can be. A worker's democracy in Iran will only be possible by smashing the fascistic-Zionist State of Israel, which so long as it exists prevents the freedom of the Middle East from imperialism.

5. The development of the revolutionary struggle that can be unleashed by the Iranian workers has an international character, it is part of a single proletarian revolution leading the entire exploited masses of the Middle East, and only in that single revolution will the Iranian revolution find its solution. The revolution must confront the

counterrevolutionary pacts which the national Arabic bourgeoisies, allied with imperialism, have made. The proletariat has to fight against imperialist wars that are intent on driving Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan, back into barbarism. Down with the counter-revolutionary pacts of the Arab bourgeoisie which hands over the Iraqi resistance fighters to their imperialist bosses, tries to make the Palestinian masses surrender, and supports the imperialist offensive in Afghanistan and Pakistan and its gendarme in the region: the Zionist Israeli State! Down with the policy of "two states" of Obama! The masses have to rise up under the banner: Fight to smash the Zionist enclave and all the regional theocracies which bind the working masses to their imperialist oppressors.

We call on the Iranian, Palestinian, Iraqi and the Middle Eastern working class rise up again! It is only the working class that can be truly anti-imperialist, that can defend the oppressed nations, give land to the landless, defend democratic rights, end religious obscurantism for the working class has only its exploitation and chains of oppression to lose! One working class in all Middle East: one struggle!

The revolutionary battalions of the Middle East are to be found among the millions of migrant workers, working on the oil wells of the region, using its nerve and muscles building the luxury hotels such as in Kuwait and Lebanon. And from among the heroic Palestine working class, which is still divided between Gaza, the West Bank, South of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and other cities in the Zionist enclave. The interpenetration of the millions of migrant workers with the Palestinian workers make the proletariat on the region one of the most internationalist of classes.

The independent uprising of the Iranian proletariat has the capacity to break the siege that the imperialist counterrevolutionary, the national bourgeoisie and the WSF forces has imposed against the Palestinian workers.

Support the uprisings of the heroic Palestine proletariat! Only the working class taking power, smashing the Zionist state of Israel can guarantee the calling of a Palestine National Assembly of armed workers and peasants in Gaza, West Bank and all the Palestine Arabs of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and other Palestine cities occupied by Zionism, together with the Palestine masses in Jordan and South of Lebanon; on that basis the armed insurrection of all the Palestine masses and workers, can be organized. That is the only way to turn the war of national liberation

into the socialist revolution in Palestine occupied by the Zionist enclave!

Smash the fascistic Zionist State of Israel! For the military defeat of US imperialism and all the powers in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan! Arms for the Palestinian, Iraqi, Afghani and Pakistani resistance! That the lowest layers of the US and European proletariat are constituted by Arabs workers, creates immediate international links between the exploited on both continents. We recognize the rebellious spirit of the French youth who last summer cried out: "Every night we will make Paris into Bagdad"! We call on the Oakland Dock workers to "Hot Cargo" weapons destined to Iraq! We call for the massive mobilizations of solidarity

with the Palestine masses beginning in 2009, to forge real proletariat internationalist links. The task today is to defeat those social-imperialist leaderships, Stalinism-Castroism, social democratic and fake Trotskyites who infiltrate the workers movement only to betray it by allying with the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy. Revolutionary internationalist workers unite, seize again the tradition of forming up the heaviest battalions of the world proletariat together with its Middle East brothers and sisters we shall defeat imperialism and build a world wide workers democracy.

Proposal of resolutions on Iran and Middle East.

One of the central lessons of the Iranian revolution is that the crisis of leadership is not the absence of leadership but the presence of a counter-

revolutionary leadership (Stalinism and other forces of the 'left' such as the IMT that capitulate to it). We remember and salute the HKS (the Socialist Workers Party of Iran) that fought a lone and hard battle in Iran in 1979 and subsequently, against their own international of the USFI, and all other trends who capitulated to Khomeini (the main leader of the counter-revolution), directly or indirectly.

No workers' revolution in the Middle East can last very long without the working class taking power in at least one or more of the imperialist centres. We need to build a revolutionary International, with sections in every country on the programme of the 1938 Transitional programme and drawing on the lessons of the working class struggles since then. This is the aim of the aim of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction- let us regroup the revolutionaries and scatter the forces of reaction to the winds.

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE ILTF



The Iranian Revolution, 1979